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The Hakluyt Society

THE QUEST AND OCCUPATION OF TAHITI BY EMISSARIES OF SPAIN IN 1772–76.

VOLUME III

SECOND SERIES

No. XLIII

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O TU NUI E-A'A-I-TE-ATUA

THE QUEST AND OCCUPATION OF TAHITI BY EMISSARIES OF SPAIN DURING THE YEARS 1772–1776.

TOLD IN DESPATCHES AND OTHER CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS:

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH AND COMPILED, WITH NOTES AND AN INTRODUCTION,

BY

BOLTON GLANVILL CORNEY,
Companion of the Imperial Service Order.

VOLUME III

Containing

THE DIARY OF MÁXIMO RODRÍGUEZ.

LONDON:
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This list is designed to be read with and as a part of the corresponding lists in vols. I and II (pp. lxx–lxxxviii and xliv–xlvii respectively).

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CORRIGENDA

In Volume I—

Page xxxii, line 20	*for* (p. xvi)	*read* (Bibl. no. 96, p. xvi)	
„ lxxi, top line	„ *Indijerente*	„ *Indiferente*	
„ 11, „ „ and foot-note	„ *Aguiles*	„ *Aquiles*	
„ 301, foot-note	„ 1836	„ 1839	
„ 302, „	„ *Te Torea* and Te Torea	*read* Ti'i-torea	
„ 307, 318, 352, foot-notes	„ Tutahaa	*read* Tutea	
„ 310, foot-note	„ Vaitepihaa	„ Vai-te-piha	
„ 320, „	„ Te Torea	„ Ti'i-torea	

In Volume II—

Page xxiv, last line but 6	*for* Tutaha	*read* Tutea
„ xxxvii, last line but 5	„ Boris	„ Bovis
„ 83, foot-note 2	„ Lamk.	„ Lam.
„ 152, 196, 197, 265, foot-notes	„ Tutaha	„ Tutea
„ 164, foot-note	„ 1723	„ 1722
„ 166, „ 4	„ *Tupuaemanu*	„ *Tapuaemanu*
„ 190, „ 2	„ *Tupuae Manu*	„ *Tapuaemanu*
„ „ „ „	„ *Tupuae's*	„ *Tapuaemanu's*
„ 191, top line of text	„ *Tupuae Manu*	„ *Tapuaemanu*
„ 370, foot-note	„ *Calder*	„ *St Patrick*
„ 466, inscription	„ REX	„ RE ET
„ 488, Index	„ Boris	„ Bovis

Note. The orthography of Tu's full title, quoted by the late M. de Bovis [vol. II, p. xxxvii] as Te-Tu-nui-ea-i-te-Atua, is affirmed by the late Miss Teuira Henry [Bibl. no. 118 *bis*, vol. xx (1911), p. 8] to be either Tu-nui-e-a'a-i-te-atua, or Tu-nui-a'e-i-te-atua. Of all the various forms Tu-nui-e-a'a-i-te-Atua seems the most regular.

SOME ACCOUNT OF

MÁXIMO RODRÍGUEZ AND HIS DIARY: AND THE MYSTIC BOWL OF *MARAE* TAPUTAPUATEA

IN the foregoing passages of this history mention now and again occurs of one MÁXIMO RODRÍGUEZ, a youth of Spanish nationality, who, having served with particular credit as a foot-soldier or marine in the frigate *Águila* throughout her voyage to Tahiti and back, in 1772–3, was selected by the Viceroy of Peru to return in the quality of Interpreter with the expedition which his Excellency subsequently despatched in the same vessel to the same destination.

The instructions then issued to Máximo required him to remain in the island with the two Franciscan friars embarked at the same time, whom Captain Boenechea was commissioned to install there as Christian missionaries. The present volume unfolds the story of their sojourn, and many incidents of public and private life among the natives, as recorded by this Máximo Rodríguez from day to day. His DIARY is for the most part a document of simple domestic interest; but it retains some historical value, unique of its kind, though (as the Viceroy de Croix observed so long ago as in 1788) its importance was much greater at the time it was written, "when the voyages of Captains Cook and Wallis had scarcely yet come to light[1]." Relating as it does to the years 1774–5, it shares with the more fragmentary jottings[2] set down by the missionary *Padres* the distinction of forming the only original record of the first sojourn of Europeans at Tahiti

[1] *Cf.* p. 213.

[2] Printed in vol. II, pp. 199–218, 319–349.

without the continuous support of their ship. And being, as its title expresses, a *Relación diaria* or 'daily narrative,' there attaches to it the merit of having been written on the spot while the events, conversations, and impressions related in it were vivid in the writer's memory, and the places he describes were freshly pictured in his mind. The records published by Boenechea's forerunners at the island—Captains Wallis, de Bougainville, and Cook—and the journals of certain "officers and gentlemen" who accompanied those commanders describe, indeed, what their authors saw and deemed noteworthy during the comparatively short visits they paid to Tahiti in 1767, 1768 and 1769, and Cook a second time (with Furneaux, and the two Forsters) in 1773. Yet, though their genius for observation was doubtless superior to the capacity of a simple foot-soldier, no member of the English or French visitors acquired the opportunities that fell to Máximo's lot through enjoying the confidence of Chiefs and commoners alike and living in familiar relationship with them for a continuous period of more than ten months, "pretty woebegone, in sooth," as he puts it, "and with no other refuge than God and our own conduct[1]." Not only were Máximo's opportunities for acquiring a knowledge of the natives and their mode of life thereby the greater, but he was free withal to make the most of them, according to his lights, because he went about his duties and his recreations equipped with a competent knowledge of the language, which he was constantly improving. He had acquired this in some part during his previous visit to Tahiti in the *Águila*, but had rectified and matured it by prolonged association with the two natives Pautu and Tetuanui, who were brought to Lima in the frigate in 1772–3 and remained there under the Viceroy's paternal care until they re-embarked for home in 1774. The

[1] Quoted from Máximo's Memorial, p. 215, and see also his Diary, January 28, p. 48.

advantage thus enjoyed by Máximo Rodríguez had no parallel before his day, nor for many years afterwards, so that his observations, superficial though they were, supply useful material out of which some of the lacunae in the records derived from other sources may now be filled, and the continuity of Tahitian history thus be improved[1]. In support of this claim it is worthy of remark that the personality, the career, and death of the important Chief Vehiatua (Ta'ata-'ura'ura), so simply yet graphically portrayed in Máximo's Diary, find only the barest mention in the narratives of Captain Cook and his associates. This is because neither the *Dolphin* nor the *Endeavour* ever visited the waters of the lesser peninsula, whilst the *Resolution* (with the *Adventure*) spent only one week[2] in those parts prior to the Spaniards' second visit; and when Cook returned in 1777 Ta'ata-'ura'ura was no more. The *Resolution*, moreover, when she did put in at the Bay of Vaitepiha[3], chanced to arrive at a moment when the Chief was away in another district; and five days elapsed before his return, pending which no person was authorised to part with any hogs. Cook became impatient at this, and though he had two very friendly interviews with Vehiatua on the 23rd of August, the vessels put to sea the next morning for Matavai, "instead," says G. Forster in his own bumptious way, "of cultivating any farther acquaintance with him[4]." Cook remarks, however, that he "knew him at first sight, and he me; having seen each other several times in 1769. At that time he was but a boy, and went by the name of Tearee[5]."

One of Cook's most intelligent officers, Surgeon William

[1] It is greatly to be regretted that Miss Teuira Henry, whose life-long familiarity with Tahitian lore so eminently qualified her to edit her collections for publication, passed away on January 23 1915, without having been able to complete her manuscript.

[2] Bibl. nos. 29, 40, 41, 51.

[3] On August 17, 1773: Bibl. no. 29, vol. I, chap. x.

[4] Bibl. no. 40, vol. I, 311.

[5] Bibl. no. 29, *loc. cit.* 150; and no. 51, vol. II, 158. "Tearee" is, of course, *Te ari'i*—the Chief.

Anderson, was fully alive to the drawbacks under which their observations were conducted; and his remarks on this subject are so pertinent to the fact of the Spaniards' better opportunities, that they merit quotation here. In his account of native manners and customs Surgeon Anderson wrote:

> "I...will venture to affirm...though a very accurate description of the country, and of the most obvious customs of its inhabitants, has been already given, especially by Captain Cook, that much still remains untouched; that in some instances mistakes have been made, which later and repeated observation has been able to rectify; and that, even now, we are strangers to many of the most important institutions that prevail amongst these people. The truth is, our visits, though frequent, have been but transient; many of us had no inclination to make inquiries; more of us were unable to direct our inquiries properly; and we all laboured, though not to the same degree, under the disadvantages attending an imperfect knowledge of the language of those, from whom alone we could receive any information. The Spaniards had it more in their power to surmount this bar to instruction: some of them having resided at Otaheiti much longer than any other European visiters. As, with their superior advantages, they could not but have had an opportunity of obtaining the fullest information on most subjects relating to this island, their account of it would probably convey more authentic and accurate intelligence, than, with our best endeavours, any of us could possibly obtain. But, as I look upon it to be very uncertain, if not very unlikely, that we shall ever have any communication from that quarter, I have here put together what additional intelligence, about Otaheite, and its neighbouring islands, I was able to procure, either from Omai, whilst on board the ship, or by conversing with the other natives, while we remained amongst them[1]."

[1] Bibl. no. 28, vol. II, pp. 141–2.

And so on. The "communications" that Mr Anderson thought "unlikely" have only now come fully to light; and, at whatever intrinsic worth the particulars revealed by Máximo Rodríguez may be appraised, it will hardly be denied that the records of the Spanish Mission to Tahiti already published in volumes I and II of the present set would not be complete without them[1]. Historians will recognise, moreover, that, in point of originality and narrative, Máximo's relation merits comparison with the notable story extracted forty years later by Dr John Martin from William Mariner and his shipmate Jeremiah Higgins, of Tongan fame; and in some respects outshines that excellent memoir.

What the ethnologist will most regret about Máximo's records is the loss, as he tells us[2], of his *Extracto* or Supple-

[1] Here is what David Samwell, who succeeded John Law as surgeon in H.M.S. *Discovery*, on the latter's promotion to the *Resolution* in consequence of Mr Anderson's death, gleaned from the natives with regard to the Spanish visitors, in August, 1776:

"They [the Spanish ships] left three Spaniards behind them on the Island to examine it & cultivate the good will & Friendship of the Natives. One of them was a common person, whom the Indians call Marteemo; he was very much liked by them & had, during his abode here, rendered himself by far the most noted of any of the Spaniards. The other was a Priest whose function they made known to us by imitating him in a ludicrous manner in [saying] Grace before meat, & counting his Beads & perfor[ming] other Ceremonies of the Romish Church. The third was a Servant who attended upon them. They all lived in this House during their stay on the Island, [whic]h was about ten months, when a ship arrived from [L]ima & brought two of the Otaheiteans back the other dyed in South America. This ship stayed here only two days & then took away the three Spaniards, & since that time no Spanish vessels have been here. They called the Spaniards "Tata Reema," that is, "the men of Lima," from whence they came. Marteemo made the tour of the Island & lived upon a very friendly footing with the Natives, conforming himself to their customs & manners, & indulging himself with those pleasures which the Island afforded, more particularly among the Girls, which last Circumstance was so agreeable to the Genius of these People that they looked upon him on this account to be the best Fellow among his Countrymen, who preserved a haughty Distance in their Behaviour to the Indians.

We saw the 2 Men who had been to Lima. One of them is ca[lled?] Tiarraboo; the other is a simple kind of a fellow of no Consequence." [Bibl. no MSS. 25 *ter*.]

[2] See the Memorial, p. 216.

ment descriptive of the native customs and ceremonies he witnessed. He refers to this at several points in his Diary; we may therefore believe that he wrote it *pari passu* with the daily entries, as often as new elements came under his notice. His *Prologuito*, or Rejoinder to Captain Cook's denunciation of Máximo's philippics about the English nation, has been alluded to and is also, unfortunately, wanting[1]. There are two or three passages in the Diary which seem to supply a foundation for the story related by Captain Cook: one describes a chat that Máximo engaged in with Tu on December 21, at "Puerto de la Virgen," which was the name by which the Spaniards called Pueu[2]. Another occurs in the entry made on February 18, where Máximo writes of a conversation he had at Tautira with members of Tu's following who had come thither from Matavai. A third may perhaps have taken place on April 7, when four ships were reported to have been seen to the south'ard of the island. To their assertion that "Otute" was the proprietor or lord of Matavai the diarist says *les desengañé*, etc.—"I undeceived them as to that; and gave them to believe that the said commander would not put in any appearance again so long as we continue in residence[3]." The exuberance of Máximo's patriotism may have prompted him to indulge in an *andaluzada* more freely than he cared to record in his Diary, or he may merely have enlarged upon the truth as a means of magnifying his own importance and assuring the personal safety of the Spanish Mission; but everyone who has shared the social life of South Sea islanders well knows their love of gossip, their predilection for the marvellous, and their genius for distorting what they have overheard. On the other hand accuracy of observation and moderation of statement were among Captain Cook's most eminent faculties. There is no reason to think that our country-

[1] For Cook's criticisms, see the next page.
[2] *Cf.* pp. 32, 33. [3] *Cf.* p. 67.

man's written words add anything to the story as he heard it; though nothing is more possible than that it reached his ears in a highly coloured dressing, and with some circumstantial variants or accretions. Here is the passage in question:

> "When these ships left the island, four Spaniards remained behind. Two were priests, one a servant, and the fourth made himself very popular among the natives, who distinguish him by the name of Mateema. He seems to have been a person who had studied their language, or at least to have spoken it so as to be understood; and to have taken uncommon pains to impress the minds of the islanders with the most exalted ideas of the greatness of the Spanish nation, and to make them think meanly of the English. He even went so far as to assure them that we no longer existed as an independent nation; that *Pretane* was only a small island, which they, the Spaniards, had entirely destroyed; and, for me, that they had met with me at sea and, with a few shots, had sent my ship, and every soul in her, to the bottom, so that my visiting Otaheite at this time was, of course, very unexpected[1]. All this, and many other improbable falsehoods, did this Spaniard make these people believe. If Spain had no other views, in this expedition, but to depreciate the English, they had better have kept their ships at home, for my returning again to Otaheite was considered as a complete confutation of all that Mateema had said....
>
> The priests resided constantly in the house at Oheitepeha; but Mateema roved about, visiting most parts of the island[2]."

MÁXIMO'S CAREER.

The leading incidents of Máximo's career are sketched in his own words in the interesting MEMORIAL he submitted to the Viceroy de Croix in 1788[3]. He does

[1] *Cf.* p. 67 of the Diary, with foot-note.
[2] Bibl. no. 28, II, p. 76.
[3] See pp. 214–218.

not name the place of his birth; but several expressions in his Diary and allusions elsewhere point to his having been a Limeño. He has left no clue to the quality of his parentage; but if, as is more than probable, there was a strain of the native element in his blood, this may have conduced to the frankness with which the Tahitians received him into their confidence and the singular affection they showed towards him from first to last. It might also account in some measure for Máximo's natural aptitude for falling into line with their mentality and merging in their domestic life.

He alludes to himself as having been "un mozo de veinte años, sin instrucción[1]," at the time he dwelt in Tahiti; and says that he enlisted in the Corps of Marines in the year 1767. If we accept those two statements literally Máximo cannot have been more than twelve years old when he first took service. But unlettered persons are apt to reckon by tens and we may believe that by "veinte" he meant twenty odd, if he knew his exact age at all, just as we are wont to speak of "a youth in his 'teens"—meaning any age between twelve and twenty. In that case Máximo may have been seventeen or so when he joined the Marines, and therefore in his twenty-fifth year at the time he wrote his Diary. Though he alleges that he was "without education" it is evident that he had received some clerical teaching. He could read and write; and he showed on several occasions a strong religious bias of the narrow-minded, unenlightened, fatuous sort that prevailed in South America in his day[2], which hindered him at times from gaining such an insight into the natives' ethics and ideology as might in the end, and under more

[1] *i.e.* a lad of twenty years, without education.

[2] When some of the collegians of San Carlos harangued the Viceroy Gil de Lemos he inquired of the Rector what sciences were taught in the college; and, being briefly informed, he exclaimed "Tu, tu, tu! let them learn to read, write, and say their prayers, for that is as much as any American should know." [Bibl. no. 136, vol. I, p. 288.]

intelligent *Padres*, have proved useful to the Mission. The faulty phraseology and crude style of his Diary prove that Máximo was no scholar; yet he had wit enough, and application sufficient, to compile a useful vocabulary of the Tahitian tongue with the Spanish equivalents. He tells us in his Memorial that this vocabulary (meaning probably the original draft) was afterwards lost; but it is clear that the one transmitted by the Viceroy Amat under cover of his despatch No. 1068 to the Secretary of State[1] was mainly the result of Máximo's industry and ability; though his Excellency did not mention the compiler's name in that communication.

During the interval between his enlistment and joining the *Águila's* first expedition to Tahiti—a period of five years—Máximo's experience of the world included a voyage in the King's ship *Peruano*, conveying expatriated Jesuits, from El Callao to Cádiz. From the latter port he proceeded to Cartagena (de España), where for a time he served with the shore battalions. Returning to Peru in the ship *Astuto*, in 1770, he suffered "imponderables travajos[2]" during the voyage, in the course of which the convoy was twice dispersed. His life under naval discipline during those years no doubt contributed to mould that character for equanimity, reserve, obedience and respect towards those in authority, patience and discretion in troublous circumstances, which he afterwards—except when his religious tenets came into question—consistently displayed. The stream of events which gave colour to his life at that impressionable period of youth will have widened his field of thought and, mayhap, whetted a desire for farther adventure. And so we find that, two months after his return from Spain, Máximo (still a private of Marines) was transferred from the *Astuto* to the 74-gun ship *San Lorenzo*, and took part in the expedition com-

[1] See vol. II, pp. 1–21.
[2] *i.e.* incalculable toils.

manded by Don Felipe González[1] de Haedo for the rediscovery of the mysterious Davis's Land[2]: though the island González found turned out to be Roggeveen's *Paasch* or Easter Island. Returning by way of Valparaiso to Callao Roads in March, 1771, Máximo appears to have passed the next year and a half in the neighbourhood of Lima, serving in the same rating as before. It was perhaps what he had seen of the Easter Islanders that prompted him to ship in the *Águila* in September, 1772, when that frigate was about to be despatched in quest of Tahiti with the object of embracing its territory within the dominions of the Crown of Spain, and of converting its inhabitants to the doctrines of the Christian Faith. Máximo's quickness in acquiring a working fluency in the native language during the *Águila's* visit in 1772–3, backed by Captain Boenechea's favourable report of his conduct and zeal, moved the Viceroy Amat to attach him to the second expedition and to entrust him with special duties, in particular those of interpretation for the missionary *Padres* whom his Excellency then sent to the island. He was also enjoined to acquaint himself with the physical features of Tahiti, its harbours, roadsteads, timbers and so forth, as well as the manners and customs of the natives, and to keep a record of places and events in the form of a Diary or narrative, day by day.

The writing of this Diary gave Máximo a good deal of worry, at times, owing to the petulant and mistrustful attitude the two *Padres* saw fit to adopt towards him. Jealousy, on two counts, was the mainspring of their ill-will: jealousy of his popularity and influence with the natives, especially the Chiefs—whom the *Padres* themselves signally failed to attract, or even understand—and jealousy of Máximo's accountableness to other and higher

[1] See Bibl. no. 32 (*a*), *passim*.

[2] The land Edward Davis saw was probably Temoe (the Crescent Island of Wilson) and the peaks of Mangareva beyond. *Cf.* vol. II, p. 66, *note* 3.

authorities than themselves, namely, the commander and officers of the *Águila* and the Viceroy personally. The seaman Pérez too, who by desire of the *Padres* had been allotted from the frigate to cook for the party, tend the vegetable garden and livestock, and carry on menial duties in general at the mission house, turned out to be a sulky, churlish and disorderly lout; and, by his insubordinate conduct, not only added to the Spaniards' domestic discord but caused trouble with the natives which might easily have brought serious reprisals upon the Mission. Hence Máximo dryly remarks, in his entry of March 26, after witnessing an unseemly wrangle in which he himself had no share, "It appears that we are all heads, and that we cannot get along for lack of feet[1]." Other passages of gentle irony occur in the Diary, yet its author's demeanour towards the *Padres* was at almost all times respectful and obedient, and he usually faced their language of disparagement and abuse with commendable resignation, rather than participate in a brawl[2]. Once, indeed, he lost his temper and engaged in a struggle—not with the *Padres*, but with Manuel Tetuanui, a recalcitrant native youth who had been to Lima and back in the *Águila* and was baptized there, but cast his clothing and reverted to the Faith of his ancestors a few weeks after his home-coming.

After the frigate's final return to El Callao in February, 1776, the Viceroy Amat was much occupied with important matters of State, and with preparations for his retirement from office, which was then impending[3]. He found time, however, to read Commander de Lángara's report[4] of the voyage and to hear oral accounts of all that had passed at Tahiti in connection with the failure and abandonment of the Mission. He wrote a despatch on the subject (no. 1189[5]), under cover of which he transmitted Lángara's

[1] p. 99. [2] *e.g.* pp. 68–9, 85, 204 (14th day).
[3] *Cf.* vol. II, pp. 350–3; and Bibl. no. 68, article 'Amat.'
[4] Vol. II, pp. 365–389. [5] *Loc. cit.* 362–4.

report and its enclosures to the Secretary of State. His Excellency did not name Máximo in the despatch, which was a short one; but he showed his appreciation of the loyal and efficient manner in which the young man had carried out the instructions given him and had borne his share in the vicissitudes and anxieties of the Mission, by enrolling him to fill a vacancy as halberdier[1] in the viceregal body-guard of Archers. The pay attached to this post proved insufficient, after a while, to provide for the increasing needs of Máximo's family. He does not tell us whether his "family" meant his ageing parents, or his growing children. But the sentence suggests that he married soon after his return from Tahiti; and if that was in fact the case it would lend colour to the proposition, already put forward (p. xx), that his age was nearer to twenty-five than twenty at the time he resided in the island. To meet the difficulty of housekeeping Máximo found it necessary to supplement his halberdier's pay by engaging in business—"aplicarse al comercio"—which probably meant conducting some kind of commission agency or shop. Owing to the course of public events in Europe and America about that period, Peru had drifted into embarrassments both political and economic. Insurrections had occurred in the interior, oversea trade was harassed or interrupted, expenses tended everywhere to increase, and the Treasury chests were depleted. There had been two changes of Viceroy, and the detested *Visitador* was imposing restrictions and economies in all directions. Already the viceregal Company of Archers had been reduced in strength from fifty to twenty-five men[2] when, in 1784—the year of Don Teodoro de Croix's

[1] The halberdiers were generally of good family, and the captain, their only officer, was always a young nobleman, because the situation was considered highly honourable. They wore blue coats with a full trimming of gold lace, crimson waistcoat and breeches, silk stockings, velvet shoes, a laced hat and a halberd. [Bibl. no. 136, vol. I, p. 228.]

[2] Bibl. no. 42 *bis*, tomo V, p. 221.

accession to office—the retrenchments that were taking place in the public service brought about the disbandment of the remainder, and Máximo being consequently placed on the 'retired' list, his military pay ceased altogether.

Then it was that some persons of his acquaintance brought to Máximo's notice the fact that Captain Cook had made him famous by taking his name in vain as a defamer of the British nation; giving him, nevertheless, due credit for having roamed freely about the island and gained the affection and respect of the natives[1]. This piece of information inspired Máximo to write a short Foreword or *Prologuito*, as he calls it, in vindication of his honour; this he prefixed to a fair copy of his Diary and submitted to the Viceroy Chevalier de Croix, together with a petition or Memorial drawing attention to his reduced circumstances and praying for some farther recognition of his past services[2].

About this time too, it came to Máximo's knowledge that the wonderful stone bowl entrusted to his care by the Paramount Chief of Tahiti for transmission to the Spanish monarch was still at Lima, in the keeping of a certain Don Jaime Palmer who had formerly served the Viceroy Amat as his *mayordomo*, or Steward. The circumstances under which this mystic bowl came into Máximo's possession are related in his Diary[3] and are of great interest; while the bowl or charger itself is so rare a piece of sculpture that it calls for particular notice (at a later page[4])—especially as it may now be seen and examined by any visitor to Madrid, where I had the good fortune to find and identify it in 1912. In his despatch, no. 92[5], the Viceroy de Croix explains how and why the bowl

[1] Bibl. no. 28, vol. II, p. 76. Quoted in the present volume, at p. xix.

[2] Pp. 214–18.

[3] Under dates June 14, July 10, 12, 13, 16; later references to it occur in Máximo's MEMORIAL (p. 216) and the Viceroy de Croix's despatch, no. 92 (p. 212).

[4] p. xxxiv.

[5] p. 212.

came under his notice, in 1788, and was about to be shipped to Cádiz for the King's acceptance at the same time as Máximo's Diary and Memorial. A memorandum[1] I met with in the *Archivo de Indias* records its safe arrival at Cádiz; and another, dated September 30 in the same year, showed that the Secretary of State, el Bailio Frey Don Antonio Valdés y Bazan, gave instructions[2] for the package containing the bowl to be sent forward from Cádiz to Madrid "by the regular carrier." That it duly arrived there, and has been preserved intact by our good friends the Spanish authorities in spite of the many exciting political events of which Madrid has since been a focus, is proved by its presence in the national archaeological museum to-day. Not the least violent of those disturbances was the Napoleonic invasion, one feature in which was the savage assault committed by Murat and his troops, on the memorable *dos de Maio*, 1808, close to and around the very spot where Tu's mystic bowl still rests, in the course of which the old Natural History Salon, where it then was, "was pillaged and disorganized."

Máximo's Memorial and Diary went forward from Cádiz some days before the "regular carrier," and the Viceroy's recommendation of his claims received very prompt attention at the Court; for, on October 1, fully two weeks before the bowl can have reached Madrid, a despatch was signed by the Secretary of State under cover of which a commission in the rank of Sub-lieutenant of Infantry, and carrying pay as on the active list, was transmitted to the Viceroy "in favour of Don Máximo Rodríguez, as a recognition of merit displayed by him at the island of Otahiti[3]."

The receipt of this commission seems to have marked the crowning stage of Máximo's life, which was then also at its prime in point of years; for nothing has come to light about his subsequent affairs. It is known incident-

[1] Not printed. [2] p. 219. [3] See p. 219.

ally, however, that he died before 1825; the memory of this circumstance having been preserved through the activities of Captain Peter Dillon—the noted discoverer of the wrecks of La Pérouse's ships at Vanikoro—for in 1825 this same Dillon acquired a transcript of Máximo's Diary from its author's *widow*, the Señora Rodríguez, at Valparaiso, as explained in the subjoined quotation from L. G. Domeny de Rienzi's work on "Océanie," published at Paris, 1837:

> "Le cabinet de Madrid, soit insouciance, soit politique, avait gardé le silence sur ce voyage. Toute-fois ce mystère est enfin connu, grâce à la gazette du gouvernement de Calcutta, capitale de l'Inde britannique, qui en a donné la relation abrégée d'après un journal que son éditeur tenait du capitaine Dillon, lequel, rédigé par un Espagnol de Lima nommé Manuel [*sic*] Rodriguez, contient plusieurs particularités que ne permettent pas de douter qu'il ne s'agisse du voyage dont parle le capitaine Cook. Ce journal inédit était resté entre les mains de la veuve de Rodriguez, et le capitaine Dillon l'obtint d'elle à Valparaiso[1]."

MSS. OF THE DIARY.

The first direct clue that I obtained to any copy of Máximo's MS. was, in fact, this statement by Domeny de Rienzi. It gave inspiring news, so far as it went; but it supplied no reference to the date, or even the volume, of the *Calcutta Government Gazette* in which the notice had appeared. Turning next to Peter Dillon's own book[2] I satisfied myself that it contains no mention of Máximo, nor of his Diary; but I found that the author tells in it of having sailed from Sydney (N.S.W.) on the 16th of March, 1825, in command of the Calcutta brig *Calder*, bound for Valparaiso, where he arrived on the 3rd or 4th of May following, and that the *Calder* was driven

[1] Bibl. no. 100, tome III, p. 4.

[2] Bibl. no. 130.

ashore at that place and wrecked. "My next ship, the *St Patrick*," says Dillon, "was then in harbour, and had just returned from New Zealand with a cargo of spars, having providentially weathered the gale. I sailed in her from Valparaiso in October, 1825, bound to New Zealand and Calcutta. On my way I put in at Otaheite[1]." From Tahiti Dillon wrote letters, dated December 4, to friends in New South Wales; and two of these were published in the *Sydney Gazette*[2]. In one of them he related the main circumstances of the stranding of the *Calder* (and two other vessels) in the Bay of Valparaiso, during a nor'-wester, on the 11th of June. Many other details of the *Calder's* voyage and wreck are graphically told by George Bayly, who was 3rd Mate in her at the time, as well as an outline of the *Saint Patrick's* voyage (in which ship Bayly also served) from Valparaiso to Tahiti, and thence to New Zealand and Calcutta[3].

An examination of the shipping announcements at the last-named port showed me that the *Saint Patrick's* arrival in the Hugli river was recorded in the *Calcutta Government Gazette*[4] of August 31, and the *Bengal Hurkaru*[5] of September 5; and in the issue of the former paper on October 26 (no. 596, vol. XII) there appeared an editorial notice[6] of the copy of Máximo's Diary obtained by Dillon from the widow Rodríguez and mentioned by Domeny de Rienzi. Interesting though this was, it brought the full text of the Diary no nearer; in fact, the opening and closing sentences of the article point to the editor having been favoured with a *view*, but not possession, of the MS.; and inquiries I made through a friend's friend in Calcutta led to no result.

A perusal of the account published in the *Calcutta Government Gazette* nevertheless afforded ample encourage-

[1] *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 270.
[2] Of March 15, 1826.
[3] Bibl. no. 124, chaps. VI to XIII.
[4] Bibl. no. 24.
[5] Bibl. no. 125.
[6] Reprinted in full at pp. 222–5 of this volume.

ment for thoroughly examining the despatches written by Don Manuel de Amat after Máximo's return to Lima in 1776. I gave attention to this during my next visit to Sevilla; but I found that Amat never wrote any farther despatch on the subject of the *Águila* or her mission after the one (no. 1189) already cited[1], and that he embarked for Spain on the 4th of December in the same year, soon after ceasing to hold office. Amat did not quit Peru, however, without signing the customary "Recital of the events of his Administration, for the information and guidance of his successor"—in this instance Lieut.-General[2] Don Manuel Guirior; and he fulfilled a promise made in it to supply an *Addendum* giving particulars of Lángara's voyage, if the frigate should return to port in opportune time. In that *Addendum* the Viceroy alluded, incidentally, to the "diary submitted by the Interpreter[3]"; this was direct proof that Máximo's Diary, or a fair copy of the rough original, had reached his Excellency's hands, that his Excellency had examined it, and that he was treating it as an official document. The question now to be settled was 'What had the Viceroy done with this Diary?' Clearly he did not send it to Spain, since it was not mentioned in any of his despatches nor in his indexes to despatches, and is not with them in the *Archivo de Indias*. Did he file it in the Palace library at Lima? Did he hand it back to Máximo? Did his successor, Don Manuel Guirior, deal with it? An examination I made of Guirior's despatches revealed but a single document relating to the *Águila* (no. 280)[4] and that was only to report her condemnation, and sale out of the King's service. Guirior was followed, as Viceroy, by Don Agustín Jáuregui. This officer, being instructed to renew the Mission to the Tahitians, replied in a despatch (no. 162)[5] whereby he

[1] At p. xxiii hereof, and printed in full in vol. II, pp. 362–4.
[2] Naval rank.
[3] Vol. I hereof, p. 16.
[4] Printed in vol. II, pp. 398–400.
[5] Vol. II, pp. 407–8.

acknowledged receipt of the Royal Command to that effect; but he did nothing more, and there is no mention of the Interpreter or his Diary in any of Jáuregui's correspondence, although Máximo would unquestionably have been the most "competent and trustworthy person" of any his Excellency could send "to restore the Spanish inscription" on the cross at Tautira "and obliterate the English one put up by Cook[1]," as the King desired. The Mission was never renewed, however; and the inscription that Cook had graven on the cross[2] continued to proclaim the priority of the British visits until it decayed, so far as is now known.

Don Teodoro de Croix was the next Viceroy after Jáuregui. Born at Lille, he belonged to a Flemish family of good lineage and distinction and served, when young, as an officer of the Royal body-guard in Flanders. He was a Chevalier of the ancient Teutonic Order, now extinguished[3]. De Croix entered upon his duties at Lima in April, 1784; and on turning over his despatches in the *Archivo de Indias* I had the satisfaction to find no. 92, dated March 31, 1788, *Forwarding a Diary of the expedition despatched in the year 1774, now past, from the port of El Callao to the Island of Otahiti...*[4], etc., etc. This despatch contained a certified copy of Máximo's Petition or Memorial[5] and an announcement in reference to the stone bowl and its shipment in the frigate-built merchantman *El Dragón* for Cádiz; but the Diary itself, which had once been the principal enclosure, was no longer present and probably never reached the *Archivo*. I next instituted a search for the customary duplicate despatch, which was readily found; but instead of a duplicate of the Diary it contained only a narrow slip of paper bearing words to the effect that: "As the Diary enclosed with the original despatch

[1] *Cf.* vol. II, pp. 401–14.
[2] *Vide ibidem*, note 1, p. 403.
[3] Bibl. no. 68, vol. II, p. 429.
[4] Printed at pp. 212–214.
[5] Printed at pp. 214–218.

is a document of considerable length, it has not seemed worth while to transcribe it." This was a serious rebuff: and of that copy, which may be regarded as the second official one (the Viceroy Amat's being deemed the first), I have never succeeded in finding any farther trace, in Spain or elsewhere.

Peter Dillon's copy of the Diary has not again presented itself either. On that versatile Irishman being dubbed a Chevalier, by King Charles X, in recognition of services he had rendered to the French nation by discovering the relics of La Pérouse's ships, he was also granted a pension; and Dillon retired from sea life soon after 1840 to settle in his native country, where he died suddenly in 1847[1].

But fortunately another genuine copy of the Diary came presently to light, whose existence I did not know of until after my return to England, in 1908. I found it by pure chance, when turning listlessly over the pages of the catalogue, to while away a half hour, in the library of the Royal Geographical Society of London. The Journal of the Society for 1838 contains an entry[2] showing that this MS.[3] was presented by Captain Robert Fitz Roy. Captain Fitz Roy was an original Fellow of the Society, and became a member of its Council in 1837, soon after his return from the famous voyage in which he commanded H.M.S. *Beagle*, when Charles Darwin sailed in that vessel as one of his officers, in the capacity of surgeon-naturalist. The full title of this MS. is:

Relacion Diaria
que hizo el Interprete Maximo
Rodriguez de la Ysla de Amat
alias Otagiti el año de 1774.

[1] *La Presse*, no. 3934, Feb. 12, 1847, p. 4, col. 4. *Le Moniteur Universel*, Feb. 13, 1847, p. 294.
[2] Vol. VIII, top of p. xxiv. [3] Bibl. no. MSS. 30.

A fly-leaf has been attached by a wafer inside the cover and bears an English translation of the title, with the following memorandum below it:

"Given to Capt. Fitz Roy by Don José Manuel Tirado and the daughter of the above mentioned Rodriguez at Lima—in 1835. R.F. 25th June/37."

The English title and this memorandum are in the handwriting of the late Captain, afterwards Vice-Admiral, Robert Fitz Roy, C.B., F.R.S., who has also written his name at the top of the original title-page as owner of the volume. All this constituted unimpeachable evidence of the genuineness of the MS.; and one could not help feeling that since Máximo's widow had possessed a copy of his Tahitian Diary and, under persuasion, parted with it to so notable a personality as Captain Dillon, at Valparaiso in 1825, it was quite in accord with the family traditions that Máximo's daughter should have preserved another copy and, inspired (or perchance rewarded) by the Señor Tirado[1], was content to give it to so distinguished a visitor as Captain Fitz Roy, commanding one of his Britannic Majesty's ships, at Lima in 1835.

The Fitz Roy MS. contains 189 leaves of thin, moderately crisp, hand-made paper measuring 8 ins. × $5\frac{3}{4}$ ins., and is lightly bound in strawboard covered with calf skin, sprinkled and cat's-pawed. The water-mark displays the letters P P surmounted by a shield-like figure in scroll work. Both sides of the paper are written upon, an inner and an outer margin about half an inch wide being reserved by lines ruled in pencil, on every page. Including the binding, the volume measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins. × 6 ins.; and weighs a trifle less than 20 ounces. The handwriting is clear and good, for the most part; but the quality of the ink is not uniform, and there are some twenty-five pages

[1] An eminent man of letters in Lima, at that time.

where it has faded so much that good daylight is necessary for reading it. The copy has been written by two, if not three, different persons. It bears no date. It is signed "Maximo Rodriguez" in a handwriting not very unlike much of the text[1]. The words "alias Man[l] Llosa" have been added below, written in a different hand and ink with a finer—perhaps a steel—pen, apparently at a later date. I cannot account for this additional signature.

It would be vain to speculate as to what may have become of Máximo's original precious tome, the production of which cost him so much labour and worry in the island, and exposed him to the jealous bickerings of the missionary *Padres*, who seem to have been alive to the ignominy of their own failure, and who resented his keeping a record which might afterwards be cited against them[2]. Often, as Máximo explained in his Memorial to the Viceroy, he could only write in pencil: at times he was driven to secretly prepare a special dye or coloured medium to take the place of ink—an expedient he no doubt learnt from the natives, who were versed in the preparation of vegetable stains for marking the designs on their *ahu* or bark cloth, and for dyeing the fabric itself. It was customary in past times to have several copies made of any interesting or curious writing that came to the fore, the number varying with the needs or fancy of the owner and the amount of expense involved. This was especially the practice in the Spanish Indies, where the printing-press was a rare and not readily accessible appliance, except for Government or ecclesiastical work[3].

Thus, we know that not fewer than three contemporary fair copies of Máximo's original script were made; and

[1] See the signature in facsimile, p. 210.
[2] As indeed it was, by the Viceroy Amat. See vol. I, p. 16.
[3] Though a book was printed at Lima so early as 1584, there was no press in Chile until 1810; before that, Chilean official printing was done at Lima or Buenos Ayres at great cost.

probably a fourth may be counted, for preservation in the Viceroy's chancellery. That is to say:

1. The Viceroy Amat's copy, 1776.
2. The Viceroy de Croix's copy, transmitted to the Minister Valdés in 1788 for the King.
3. The widow Rodríguez's copy, obtained by Captain Peter Dillon in 1825.
4. The Tirado copy, given to Captain Robert Fitz Roy at Lima, in 1835.

The last-mentioned copy is the only one whose whereabouts can now be stated[1], and supplies the text from which the translation presented in this volume has been made. It is, however, quite possible that copies may exist among the archives at Lima and Santiago de Chile, or in the University or public libraries of those cities.

THE MYSTIC BOWL OF *MARAE* TAPUTAPUATEA.

The stone bowl[2], or charger, that Máximo Rodríguez acquired from Tu and delivered to the Viceroy Amat at Lima is a very remarkable object. It is beautifully sculptured from a block of hard, fine-grained, black dolerite, derived, as the diarist tells us (*cf.* June the 14th), from the island called Maurua[3]. This stone is of the kind employed by the people of the Society Islands for their *penu* (food-mashers, or pestles); and in past times they fashioned their axe-heads and adze-blades out of the same material, from the same source, where, as I am assured, a dyke or sill of it exists and has been quarried

[1] Excepting a modern one transcribed from the Tirado copy by the present editor, in 1908.

[2] See pp. xxv–vi; 156, 169–173, 212–13, 216, 219.

[3] See the Descriptive Index. It is a small island subject to Porapora, from which it bears West, 24 miles.

by successive generations of natives from time immemorial. It is a compact rock of very even texture; it does not readily chip, and is so hard as to take a good polish, and ring like phonolite when struck—qualities which render it very suitable for the purposes to which it has been put. When we consider that, so far as is recorded or known, the sculptors of Maurua were without metal tools of any kind, and probably used only chisels of obsidian and rasps of other igneous rock, the labour and skill displayed in carving this material cannot fail to excite our wonder and admiration, as it did that of the Tahitians. Indeed, one is tempted to surmise that portions of the ironwork or brass from the wreck of some unknown ship may have reached Porapora at a remote date and have been adapted as chipping instruments; possibly steel knives or chisels may thus have come into the natives' possession ready forged. Tupaia told the *Endeavour's* people, in 1769, that a white men's ship had been lost at Ra'i-atea in the life-time of his grandfather, but that the few members of her crew who escaped drowning were afterwards killed by the natives[1]. Roggeveen's tender, the *Africaansche Galey*, was wrecked on the reef of Takapoto in 1722 and may have supplied metal tools or fragments which were passed, perhaps, from island to island as curiosities; or carried direct from the atoll by some enterprising *fa'a-tere*, as tribute to the Porapora chieftain of his day. But it is vain to speculate now upon such possibilities; since not only Máximo Rodríguez but all the earlier visitors to the Tahitian archipelago assert in their records that the natives possessed no metals when H.M.S. *Dolphin* arrived, in 1767; and the fact that the arch-*tahu'a* of Hiro, whose profession should be a guarantee of his knowledge of local lore, planted iron implements in the soil of a *marae* at Huahine in Captain Cook's time, in the expectation that

[1] *Cf.* vol. II, pp. 164–5, foot-note; and Bibl. no. 127.

they would germinate and fructify[1], seems to support the dicta of those navigators.

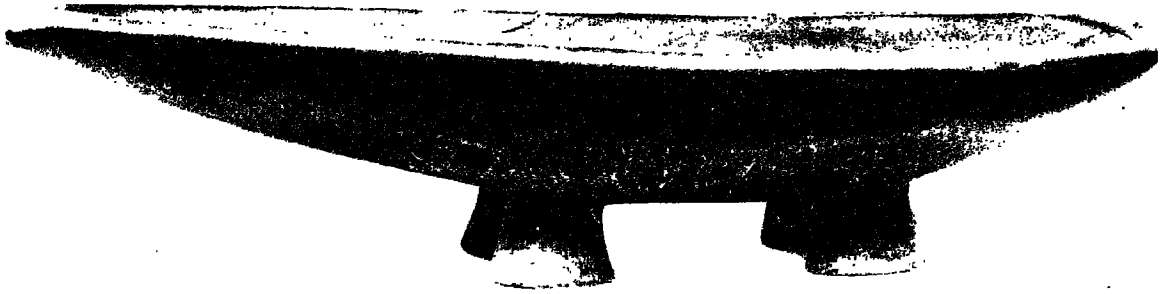
Any object carved in Maurua was first carried to Porapora, whose principal *ari'i* were sovereign lords of the lesser island and naturally had the right of disposal over all such valuables. The particular *ari'i* who flourished there in Máximo's time was the notorious Puni, a veritable sultan, who brought Tahaa and a great part of Ra'i-atea into subjection to Porapora. It was doubtless by the courtesy of this personage that the stone bowl "constructed in the island of Maurua and presented to the Chief of Orayatea," as Máximo relates in his Diary, was "sent over as a handsome present, on account of its singular workmanship, to the *ari'i* Otù[2]," who was Puni's principal co-ruler and social rival or superior.

The colour of the stone of which this bowl is carved is a dark slaty grey, almost black; so that Máximo always described it as a "batea de piedra negra"—a trough (or tub) of black stone. Its dimensions are:

Length	3 feet 10 inches
Greatest breadth	1 foot 10½ ,,
Height, feet included	11 ,,
Greatest depth of the concavity ...	4 ,,
Greatest thickness of floor ...	3 ,,

It is oval in form[3], somewhat elongated, broadly rounded at one end and tapering gracefully from the widest part towards the opposite extremity, which terminates in a shallow lip. Though the floor is so massive about its central portion it diminishes in thickness towards the brim, sloping evenly outwards and upwards until it reaches that limit, where it is rather less than one inch thick. The area of greatest depth corresponds to the thickest part of the

[1] *Cf.* vol. II, *loc. cit.*
[2] p. 156.
[3] Its general appearance is well shown in the Plate opposite.



THE MYSTIC STONE BOWL OF MARAE TAPUTAPUATEA

Reproduced by Donald Macbeth, 17 Fleet Street, E C

floor, which overlies the position of the feet beneath; it approaches the broad end, as might be expected, more nearly than the taper end. Owing to some feature in the form or proportions of the bowl its concavity looks deeper to the eye than it really is, as revealed by the callipers and the rule. There is no ornamentation of any kind, unless a small cam traversed by three pairs of narrow beadings, which is seen on the brim at the broad end, can be so considered.

The secret of the design is found in the fact that (leaving the feet or legs out of question) it is a copy of the calabash or bottle gourd[1], a common indigenous product in Polynesia and other tropical regions. The pericarp of these gourds, dried and bisected lengthwise, is in general domestic use among the natives, serving them as food bowls, finger bowls, etc.; and models of them carved in wood, mostly of larger size than the gourds themselves, are also employed[2]. They are known as *umete*, and this term (which is of wide distribution among Maori races) is equally applicable to the stone bowl of *marae* Taputapuatea.

The four feet or legs of Máximo's bowl measure about 4½ inches in height from base to shoulder. The photograph shows them to be squat in figure and somewhat inelegant, though well designed for the part they have to play.

The bowl has not been weighed; but it is so heavy that Máximo records how it was carried between four men,

[1] *Lagenaria vulgaris*, Ser.; Tah. *hue*.

[2] The Museum of the Royal Literary and Scientific Institution at Bath contains such a model in miniature, being only about 15 inches in length. It has a lip at the taper end, like Máximo's bowl, and exhibits precisely the same cam, with its three double beadings, on the brim at the broad end; but the feet are shaped like those of the Tahitian head-rests (*turua*) an example of which is shown in the Plate at page 336 of vol. I (the middle figure). The authorities of the Bath museum informed me, in 1916, that they could find no record of how or whence this model came into their possession, and that they knew nothing regarding its original source or purpose.

from the sanctuary where it was kept to his canoe[1]. Four pairs of hands were also needed when lifting it from its pedestal in the *Museo arqueológico* at Madrid to the table where it was photographed. Yet so nicely is the weight distributed that the pressure of two fingers applied beneath the broad end is sufficient to tilt or tip the bowl, when desiring to pour a liquid from its concavity by way of the lip, the two front legs acting as a fulcrum.

The only other stone *umete* of this kind whose measurements are on record was seen and described by Banks and Solander; it was smaller as a whole, but bore the same proportions as Máximo's, the breadth being approximately equal to half the length. On the 22nd of July, 1769, while strolling together near the very ancient and renowned *marae* at Opoa, in Ra'i-atea, those explorers

> "saw also a trough for making Poe poe, or sour paste, carved out of hard black stone such as their hatchets are made of; it was 2 feet 7 inches long, and 1 foot 4 broad, very thick and substantial, and supported by four short feet, the whole neatly finished and perfectly polished, though quite without ornaments[2]."

Unfortunately Banks has told us no more of the uses to which this bowl was put than the brief and somewhat irreverent statement that it was a "trough for making Poe poe, or sour paste," by which he meant *popoi*, mashed *taro*, etc., or *mahi* or *tioo*, fermented bread-fruit. Nor does Banks's journal contain any clue to indicate whether the bowl was an appurtenance of the *marae* or not, though his meeting with it at Opoa, of all places, seems significant.

The uses to which Máximo's bowl was applied in ancient times have not been clearly revealed; nor is it known whether, in the making, it was designed for any single or definite purpose, domestic or sacred, or no. But it was undoubtedly considered by the Ra'i-ateans to be a very

[1] *Cf.* p. 171.
[2] Bibl. no. 10, p. 117; and MSS no. 28 (*bis*).

remarkable and choice object and, like the seat carved of the same material that Máximo saw at Vaiari[1], had been sent across by the Chiefs of the island to their royal cousins at Tahiti as a graceful compliment to their rank. Hence it appears possible that Máximo's impression that this bowl was a very sacred object, "dedicated to their God in his sanctuary[2]," arose from his own sentimental leanings; or betokened, it may be, mere commonplace exaggeration. On the other hand it would seem that, if he was right, any sacred character the bowl did enjoy in Máximo's time was acquired after it came into Tu's possession, when it was deposited in the *marae* Taputapuatea by that Chief's command, and there consecrated.

Ellis the missionary, writing in 1818, observed "The *umetes* in ordinary use were oval, about 2 or 3 feet long, 18 inches wide, and of varied depth. They are supported by four feet cut out of the same piece of wood, and serve not only for the preparation of their food but as dishes upon which it is placed when taken out of the oven." But Ellis does not hint at their ever being carved in stone. The late F. Debell Bennett, F.R.C.S., a capable observer who saw a good deal of native life in Tahiti and Ra'i-atea in the course of his whaling cruises, chiefly during 1834, noticed that hot stones were put into medicine bowls for heating the water when warm infusions were desired[3]. This idea has a bearing upon the opinions of the principal living elders of those islands and Porapora, who, on hearing Máximo's bowl described, declared that it was an "'umete raau moá"—a sacred medicine bowl, in which herbal potions used to be mixed and consecrated in the *marae*; a procedure which was deemed to impart special curative efficacy to them. Being of stone it would lend itself not only to the preparation of warm infusions by immersion of hot pebbles, but also to trituration of the herbs, leaves or

[1] *Cf.* pp. 53–4, 107, 162. [2] *Cf.* pp. 170, 212, 216.
[3] Bibl. no. 104.

barks, by means of the *pcnu*. It is further possible that it may have served as an *ava* bowl for strictly ceremonial use in the *marae* on great occasions. My friend Mr J. Lyle Young, whose long experience in the islands and study of their archaeology and folk-lore entitle his opinion to particular weight, does not find this view acceptable; and quotes a legend he heard related many years ago representing that "at a *marae* in Huahine a large bowl was used to receive the viscera of victims who were laid on the altar stone of the *marae*. Bodies were usually thrown, without mutilation, after exposure during the day in the *marae*, into a sort of yard or small enclosure fenced off with stone at the back of the *marae*[1], and there left to decay. But in the case referred to, whether as a continuous practice or not I do not know, the corpse *was* mutilated in the manner stated[2]."

It is well known that the *tahu'a* in those islands were accustomed to look for augury by inspection of the freshly removed entrails of sacrificial victims, generally pigs. Captain Cook was an eye-witness of this at Tahiti on one occasion[3]. But whether this practice ever extended to the viscera of human victims does not seem to be on record. The point is one of great interest in relation to the well-known practice of construing auguries by similar means in ancient times in Europe, and in other parts of the world remote from Polynesia.

No such stone *'umete* as this one of Máximo is known to exist intact at the present day; but at least two reliable native authorities now living speak of having seen parts of broken specimens, one of them at Teahupoo in Taiarapu. And here it is worthy of note that "a large stone bowl" was among the vestiges of bygone inhabitants found by the mutineers of H.M.S. *Bounty* in the very early

[1] *i.e.* the "charnier" of de Bovis, *cf. postea*, pp. 234, 241.
[2] Private letter: Young to Corney, 21 March, 1914.
[3] Bibl. no. 28, vol. II, p. 38; and de Bovis, *postea*, p. 240.

days of their settlement at Pitcairn Island[1]; though, unfortunately, no exact description of it was recorded.

Many other points relating to this singular object are open to discussion, sculptured as it was by a primitive people who, in so far as Europeans have ever been able to discover, possessed no metal tools of their own, and certainly had no knowledge of tempering any iron or bronze instruments that may conceivably have come in their way from some ancient wreck[2]. But it must suffice, in this place, to add that the bowl of *marae* Taputapuatea remains safely housed in Salon III of the ethnological section of the "Museo Arqueológico Nacional[3]" at Madrid, where, in 1912, I had the good fortune to find and identify it as exhibit no. 2664, though all knowledge of its history and its country of origin had been lost for a hundred years or longer.

The Plates and Chart.

THE CHART in this volume is inserted as a supplement to the Spaniards' draft contained in volume I. It is a reduced facsimile of the French Admiralty chart of Tahiti, in which the names of the several districts follow their modern nomenclature. Earlier, but less good, maps may be consulted in the work of Vincendon-Dumoulin and Desgraz[4], in the narrative of the *Duff's* voyage[5], in the Journal of the *Endeavour's* voyage[6], and in the *Revue maritime et coloniale*, tome XIV (1865), page 548.

The FRONTISPIECE represents the only existing portrait of Tu's features, which was drawn from life by William

[1] Bibl. no. 128.
[2] *Cf. ante*, p. xxxv; and vol. II, pp. 164–5, *note*.
[3] Entrance in the Calle Serrano.
[4] Bibl. no. 139. [5] Bibl. no. 96. [6] Bibl. no. 30.

Hodges at Matavai, in 1773. The original drawing, done in red crayon, now hangs in the Royal Naval Museum at Greenwich, where I was kindly allowed facilities for its reproduction by photography[1]. As a work of art, the portrait is marred by the limitation of the paper upon which it is drawn, the margin being so scanty that the figure is very inadequately shown. Hodges was elected an Associate in 1786, and in the succeeding year a Fellow, of the Royal Academy. He was in fact not a portrait but a "landscape painter," and was chosen by the Lords Commissioners to accompany Captain Cook in the *Resolution* for that reason. His portrait of Tu was engraved in 1776 by John Hall, engraver to King George III, for inclusion in the authorised edition of Cook's Journal of the voyage[2]: a comparison of the engraving with the original drawing reveals some slight discrepancies. It was re-engraved by inferior artists for minor editions of Cook's voyages and other geographical works.

The peculiar furtive or startled expression in Tu's features, mentioned by most of the writers who knew him in life, is perceptible in Hodges' drawing. "His head," says Georg Forster, "notwithstanding a certain gloominess which seemed to express a fearful [*i.e.* timorous] disposition, had a majestic and intelligent air, and there was great expression in his full black eyes[3]." "A timid, effeminate man" wrote Matthew Flinders in his unpublished journal[4] of H.M.S. *Providence's* voyage in 1792. That Tu was timid in character is illustrated by several incidents recorded in Máximo's Diary. Whenever anything of a nature to provoke alarm among the natives occurred during the intercourse between them and the Spaniards Tu and his household were the first to move off the scene—to 'slink' away, in fact. It is now too

[1] Bibl. no. MSS. 29. See also vol. I hereof, pp. lxvii–lxviii.
[2] Bibl. no. 29, Pl. xxxviii.
[3] Bibl. no. 40, I, p. 327.
[4] P.R.O., Ships' logs.

late to judge whether this habitual prudence on Tu's part arose from a sense of the sacredness of his rank and person and of his responsibility for the national interests he represented, or whether it was really due to physical nervousness. But Tu is reputed by the educated Tahitians of to-day to have been a faint-hearted chieftain; and Lieut. Gayangos noticed at his first interview with him "that the *ari'i* was in a constant state of tremor, and never took his eyes off a carbine that I was carrying slung over my shoulder[1]."

"He is very robust," wrote Andía y Varela, "well set up and duly proportioned in all his body; but somewhat coarse featured[2]." Andía measured Tu's stature and found him to be 6 ft. 3 ins. (English measure) in height—exactly the same that Forster did[3]. Cook says, "six feet high, and a fine, personable, well-made man as one can see[4]." Banks measured one Tahitian 6 ft. 3 ins. in stature, but does not mention his name[5]. Forster states, however, that "O-Too was the tallest man whom we saw on the whole island he governs, measuring six feet and three inches in height. His whole body was proportionately strong and well made, without any tendency to corpulence[6]."

Some remarks as to the date at which Tu's birth took place have been set down in volume II, at page xxxvii. Probably Forster's estimate that he was 24 or 25 years old in 1773, when the portrait was drawn, is very near the truth. Gayangos thought him "a young man of twenty or twenty-two years[7]" in December, 1772; but Cook guessed him to be "about thirty[8]" only eight months after that date, and Captain Bligh, writing in 1788, observes that Tu, then called "Tinah is a very large man, much above

[1] *Cf.* vol. I, p. 317.
[2] *Cf.* vol. II, p. 265 and foot-note.
[3] Bibl. no. 40, *loc. cit.*
[4] Bibl. no. 29, vol. I, p. 154.
[5] Bibl. no. 10, p. 128.
[6] *op. cit.* p. 326.
[7] Vol. I, p. 319.
[8] Bibl. no. 29, I, p. 154.

the common stature, being not less than six feet four inches in height, and proportionately stout: his age is about thirty-five[1]." When O Tu died, in 1803, the missionaries of the *Duff* deemed him to have attained between fifty and sixty years[2]; they have not recorded the grounds on which they formed their opinion, but it was a cautious estimate, it agrees well with Forster's figure arrived at in 1773, and is not far wide of the others. "In person," they say, "he was the most respectable man we have seen since living here; tall, stout, well proportioned, grave in countenance, majestic in deportment, and affable in behaviour[3]." Mr Turnbull, an intelligent business man who chanced to be at Matavai on the day of Tu's death, observes that Pomare, as this Chief was then called, "was a savage of unusual address, and of much grace and majesty. He had something uncommon in his appearance, his general manners were very engaging; but, under the mask of candour, he had too much of the hypocrite[4]." He "was not less than six feet four inches in height, remarkably stout made and well-proportioned[5]"; and the same writer adds that Pomare's son stood, at that time, "upwards of six feet two and was equally well made."

Some further particulars of Tu's humours, his family connections, and career, may be read in volume II at pp. xxxv–xl, in the extracts from the missionaries' journal printed in the second volume of the Society's Transactions[6], where his character and achievements are reviewed with great fairness and moderation, and in the writings of Bligh (who observed that "in disposition neither active nor enterprising, courage is not the most conspicuous of his virtues[7]"), Vancouver[8], Lieut. George Mortimer of the Marines[9], and the Lady Taimai, Ari'i-oe-hau[10].

[1] Bibl. no. 126, p. 66. [2] Bibl. no. 133, p. 295.
[3] *Ibid.* [4] Bibl. no. 138, p. 328. [5] *Ibid.* p. 138.
[6] Bibl. no. 133. [7] Bibl. no. 126, p. 133.
[8] Bibl. no. 121 (*bis*), I, 143–4.
[9] Bibl. no. 74, pp. 27–34. [10] Bibl. no. 8, *passim*.

The negative from which Plate II, representing the dolerite bowl of Taputapuatea, has been executed was made specially for this volume, by M. Lacoste of Madrid, in 1912—the only time it has been photographed.

Plate III, representing a Tahitian scarificator, makes clear the method of applying sharks' teeth to this purpose so often alluded to by Máximo. The figure shows the actual size of the instrument, and is from an original, but unsigned, drawing[1] in Indian ink by Webber, or one of the other artists who accompanied Captain Cook.

The two small views of Mo'orea and Matavai, at page 67, are from photographs obligingly sent to me by Sister L. E. Smith, who took them after I quitted Tahiti.

The view at page 168 shows, in its modern setting, the observation mark fixed by Captain Cook at Point Venus, Matavai, where he determined the longitude in 1769. It was mounted and railed in a few years ago by the generosity of the Royal and the Royal Geographical Societies in concert with the French Government, for permanent preservation. Máximo's Diary shows that when he visited Matavai on the 6th of July, 1775, Cook's mark, which consists of a small brass fillet let into a block of solid coral, escaped his notice.

A passing allusion to the scene depicted by John Webber in Plate VI has been made in volume II (p. xxxiv); and a visit paid to the spot by some of the *Águila's* officers in 1775 is related by Don Blas de Barreda in an enclosure he sent with a private letter to the Duchess of Medina Sidonia soon after his return to Lima from the island[2]. One regrets, nevertheless, that Máximo's Diary contains no description of this rite; perhaps it supplied a passage in the lost *Extracto*. But many months later Captain Cook was an

[1] Bibl. no. MSS. 25 (Add. MSS. 23921 (58)).
[2] *Cf.* vol. II, pp. 469–470.

eye-witness of it and has left us a circumstantial and unbiased account of what he saw, with which Webber's drawing accords quite closely except that the artist has spared himself the pains of sketching in the second mute or attendant, and has placed the *fata* or oblation slabs just within, instead of "without the pallisades." Here are Cook's words:

> 19th August, 1777.—"This day some of our gentlemen, in their walks, found what they were pleased to call a Roman Catholic chapel. Indeed, from their account, this was not to be doubted; for they described the altar, and every other constituent part of such a place of worship. However, as they mentioned at the same time that two men, who had the care of it, would not suffer them to go in, I thought that they might be mistaken, and had the curiosity to pay a visit to it myself. The supposed chapel proved to be a *toopapaoo*[1], in which the remains of the late Waheiadooa[2] lay, as it were, in state. It was in a pretty large house, which was inclosed with a low pallisade. The *toopapaoo* was uncommonly neat, and resembled one of those little houses or awnings belonging to their large canoes. Perhaps it had originally been employed for that purpose. It was covered, and hung round, with cloth and mats of different colours, so as to have a pretty effect. There was one piece of scarlet broad-cloth four or five yards in length, conspicuous amongst the other ornaments, which, no doubt, had been a present from the Spaniards. This cloth, and a few tassels of feathers, which our Gentlemen supposed to be silk, suggested to them the idea of a chapel; for, whatever else was wanting to create a resemblance, their imagination supplied, and if they had not previously known that there had been Spaniards lately here they could not possibly have made the mistake. Small offerings of fruit and roots seemed to be daily made at this shrine, as some pieces were quite fresh. These were

[1] *Tupapau*, see the Glossary. [2] Vehiatua.

deposited upon a *whatta*, or altar, which stood without the pallisades; and within these we were not permitted to enter. Two men constantly attended, night and day, not only to watch over the place but also to dress and undress the *toopapaoo*. For, when I first went to survey it the cloth and its appendages were all rolled up; but at my request the two attendants hung it out in order, first dressing themselves in clean white robes. They told me that the Chief had been dead twenty months[1]."

William Ellis, who sailed as surgeon's mate in the *Discovery* on the same occasion, has also briefly described the scene:

"The morai of the late king stands upon the banks of a rivulet not far from the Spanish house; it is very neatly fenced in with bamboos, and the corpse is placed upon a kind of bier, and wrapped up in a great quantity of cloth, over which are spread several pieces of scarlet woollen cloth which had been given him by the Spaniards[2]."

Ellis's colleague and shipmate, David Samwell, made an entry in his (unpublished) Diary[3] to exactly the same effect, though it was couched in less delicate language, as was his wont.

John Webber, or Weber, was the son of a sculptor of Swiss descent who settled in London, anglicised his name, and married a lady reputed to be English. The son inherited his father's genius for art, and "was pitched upon and engaged," as Captain Cook relates in his Journal[4], "for the express purpose of supplying the unavoidable imperfections of written accounts, by enabling us to preserve, and to bring home, such drawings of the most memorable scenes of our transactions as could only be

[1] Bibl. no. 28, vol. II, pp. 17, 18.
[2] Bibl. no. 107, vol. I, p. 130.
[3] Bibl. no. MSS. 25 *ter* [= Eg. 2591].
[4] Bibl. no. 28, vol. I, p. 5.

executed by a professed and skilful artist." Webber was berthed and rationed in H.M.S. *Resolution*, and was granted an honorarium for his work, at the modest rate of one hundred pounds per annum while the voyage lasted. It was his practice to make pencil sketches at sight and to elaborate them afterwards, at leisure, from notes and memory. Of such finished pictures, for the most part pen and wash drawings, he made replicas after his return to England—several of which exhibit slight divergences from the originals, due to the exercise of "artist's license," both in detail and in colouring. There is a signed and finished drawing of Vehiatua's catafalque among Webber's other works deposited by the Admiralty in the British Museum[1]; and the same view formed the subject of a picture by him which was hung in the Royal Academy's exhibition in 1789[2]. Mr Webber was then an Associate of that body and was elected a Fellow in 1791, two years before his death. Several of his pictures were etched on copper and produced as aquatints by the artist himself; of some of these he was also the publisher, and others were published after Webber's death by Alderman Boydell and his nephew, Josiah. The particular example selected for reproduction in this volume is an aquatint executed by Webber from one of his own drawings, in grey and sepia[3], which is not only more adapted for "process" treatment than the original coloured sketch but also displays better composition and proportions.

Plate VII, representing the singular garb, and its appurtenances, worn by certain functionaries in connection with mourning rites, which appears to have been called *heva*, is also taken from an original drawing in water colours by John Webber, who sketched the specimen at

[1] Add. MSS. 15513 (14).

[2] No. 452 in the catalogue of that year, intituled "Waheiadooa, Chief of Oheitepeha, lying in state at Otahiti."

[3] K 7. Tab. 74 (Pl. 4). Its size is 41 × 28 centimetres.

Tahiti in August, 1777[1]. A sketch was also made by William Ellis, the *Discovery's* surgeon's mate, and engraved for his book[2]. Máximo refers to the complete outfit as *parae*; this term would seem to be a perversion of *pa'a rae*, the frontal mask of mother-of-pearl shells. The complete dress is described by Ellis, the missionary[3]; and specimens more or less damaged by time and handling may be seen in the British and other museums. Sir Joseph Banks, who brought home one, if not two examples, termed it a "most fantastical though not unbecoming dress," and promised to describe it, and the ceremony attending its wear, in his Diary[4]; but he did not do so at all adequately. Two of these outfits were prepared by Tu's command as a royal gift for King George III, and were presented to Captain Bligh with some ceremony, on the eve of H.M.S. *Bounty's* departure for England in 1789[5]. The unfortunate issue of that voyage and the ship's return to Tahiti in the hands of Fletcher Christian and his fellow-mutineers have made it impossible to trace the fate of those two specimens.

[1] Add. MSS. 15513 (18).
[2] Bibl. no. 107, vol. 1, p. 130.
[3] Quoted at pp. 230–2 hereof.
[4] Bibl. no. 10, pp. 96–98.
[5] Bibl. no. 126, p. 138.

DIARY

kept by the Interpreter,

MAXIMO RODRIGUEZ,

at the Island of

AMAT, otherwise OTAHITI:

in the years 1774–5.

NOTE

For the identification of personal and place names occurring in the DIARY the reader is advised to consult the DESCRIPTIVE INDEX. For the meanings of vernacular words quoted he may turn to the GLOSSARY. In the text of the DIARY Tahitian names and words have, for the most part, been printed in the antiquated and often wrong, spelling used by its author; but a few well-known and often recurring terms, such as *ava*, *arii*, *marae*, Vehiatua, have been corrected by the editor for the sake of intelligibility, and the Spanish *jota* has everywhere been replaced by the aspirate *h*. In the FOOT-NOTES modern orthography has been adopted throughout. For remarks on the phonology of the Tahitian dialect see vol. I, p. lxviii and vol. II, pp. 3–4, *note*.—ED.

DAILY NARRATIVE

kept by the Interpreter Máximo Rodríguez at the Island of AMAT, otherwise OTAHITI, in the year 1774.

HIS Majesty's frigate named the "Santa Maria Magdalena" alias the *Águila*, and the storeship "San Miguel" alias the *Júpiter*, sailed from the port of El Callao on the 20th of September 1774, bound for the island of *Otahiti*; the expedition being commanded by Don DOMINGO BONECHEA, of the rank of Commander in the Royal Navy. And we arrived there on the

15*th* day of November of the same year:—On the same day the frigate's boat proceeded to reconnoitre for the best harbour for the ships to anchor in, with Lieutenant Dⁿ Raymundo Bonacorsi, Ensign of Infantry Dⁿ Diego Machao[1], myself, and the Indian, called [by us] Tomas and by the natives Pautu, belonging to the above-named island. We passed in through the entrance to the harbour of "Sᵗᵃ Maria Magdalena" alias *Guayurua*, which was the first one of the expedition conducted in this frigate under the aforesaid Comandante in the year 1772, in the same month, at which time Lieutenant Dⁿ Thomas Gallangos[2] and the *Padre* Fr. José Amich explored all round it with the launch, as will be told at the end of this

[1] The MS. has Machao, as pronounced, but the name is usually spelt Machado. This officer was what we should now-a-days term a sub-lieutenant of Marines; but there was no separate force of Marines in the Spanish navy.

[2] Gallangos, in the MS., should be spelt Gayangos.

diary in a copy of that gentleman's original report[1]. "Some canoes came up to us asking for the above-mentioned Tomas Pautu, and Manuel Tetuanui, as well as for Franco Oheyao and Tipitipia who had since died, the one at the port of Valparaiso and the other in the city of Lima[2]. For, as was told to me, these natives had understood by means of signs from the people of the storeship (which arrived seven days before us) that their fellow-countrymen were coming with us [in the frigate].

In one of the canoes Pautu recognised his brother-in-law named Temaeba, who, as soon as he spoke to him, stepped over into our boat and embraced him, kissing him on the cheek and temples as is their wont. We proceeded on our way, and a little distance farther on—the natives in the canoes that were convoying us having shouted to those who were on shore—there came an uncle of the aforesaid Pautu in a canoe, weeping and inviting us to go to his house. As it lay in our direction we did so, and landed opposite the hut in question, in front of which was a vast multitude of persons of both sexes, some among them being greatly delighted, while others were weeping at the news of the death of those named, the whole forming one confused crowd. We passed inside the hut and saw his mother and two sisters causing such a din that we could not even hear each other speak among ourselves. They embraced us and kissed us, declaring we were good friends; and at this juncture it began to rain, which made it necessary for us to tarry awhile.

On our enquiring for the family of the boy Manuel Tetuanui (for his house was some little way off from the

[1] No such document is appended to the Diary; but the report in question, derived from Boenechea's Journal in the *Archivo de Indias* [Bibl. no. MSS. 3], is printed in vol. I, at pp. 309–25, as an integral part of the same.

[2] O Heiao was a lad of from 16 to 18 years, according to Bonacorsi (*cf.* vol. II, 63). He died when the frigate put into the bay of Valparaiso in February, 1773. Tipitipia was an adult of from 25 to 28 years, by the same authority; and died at Lima in the same year. The Spaniards called him Joseph.

other one) they went to call his parents; and in the meanwhile some of them took me to the house of the defunct Tipitipia's father. He received me sitting on the ground with some of his companions, all of them old men, and looking very distressed at such melancholy news [of his son]. I tried to console them and explained how everything that was possible had been done to restore the boy to health, but that it had been unsuccessful. With that they embraced me and sat me down between them; and then some conversation ensued about my staying in the island, at which they were highly gratified. They then took me outside to talk with the parents of the boy Tetuanui, and when these asked me, with a good deal of weeping, about their son, I replied that he had been ailing on board with a small sore on one shoulder resulting from pocks that came out on him during the course of the voyage, and which prevented him from being put on shore yet: and they became resigned.

The squall now took off, and his Honour the officer who was in charge ordered us to embark, which we had a lot of trouble in complying with, owing to the density of the throng and the natives' yelling. We got back into the boat and continued onwards inside the reef towards the bay of "La Santisima Cruz" alias *Ohatutira*, where, they told us, there was a secure harbour with good holding ground and shelter, and the two principal *arii* named Otù and Vehiatua were taking their pleasure, together with all their kinspeople, in token of reconciliation after certain past wars which had occurred between them. After we had pursued our course for some way a twin-hulled canoe came out to meet us, in which were the *arii* Vehiatua's step-father, with his mother named Opò; and on reaching us they transferred themselves to the boat and tendered us many expressions of affection. Several canoes now convoyed us, and a great many people followed alongshore. I asked the said step-father Titorea, for so he was called, where his step-son was; and he pointed to a

canoe coming towards us at a great rate, from which, on arriving, the *arii* Vehiatua stepped over into our boat and embraced us. We at once noticed the very respectful bearing of our [man] Pautu in the presence of his Chief, removing his hat with great deference and making as if to throw off the clothes he was wearing in order to present them to him. This we stayed him from doing, but he insisted on handing over the belt and the little netted sash he had on, to the Chief. We let this pass however, as he said it was indispensable.

We noticed that this *arii* had fallen off very much in physique since we had seen him during the first expedition; and we learned that the cause of it was the beverage they are wont to befuddle themselves with, which they term *ava*[1], and which causes them to become scaly all over the body. When we opened out the bay of *Ohatutira* some canoes came to us, and among them one with the *arii* Otù; and, on our inviting him into the boat, he quitted his parents and sisters and stepped on board of us together with his brother named Hinoy[2], a good tall youth of sixteen years or thereabouts. Otù showed such a friendly attachment towards me that in a little while he adopted me as his brother, and as a son to his own parents and other kinspeople; and he exchanged his name for mine, an act which, among these folk, is the bond of highest favour.

Notwithstanding the attentions of these two Chiefs soundings of the harbour were obtained and it was found to be well adapted; the land on its margin was also deemed suitable for the missionary *Padres'* homestead.

We got news from the natives of two ships having recently sailed from this island, which we ascertained to have been English by showing them that flag. The natives

[1] *Cf.* vol. II, 130, *note* 2: and the GLOSSARY.

[2] This Hinoy, properly Hinoi-atua, was a half-brother of Tu: see vol. II, 137 *n.* The name was revived in recent times in the person of the late Ari'i Hinoi-atua Pomare, who was a descendant of Tu and heir apparent to the ex-Kingdom of Tahiti. He died in the prime of life, on May 28, 1916; leaving a young son.

reported that the ships had passed on from this harbour of *Ohatutira* to that at *Matabay*, which is within the dominions of the *arii* Otù: in evidence of which that *arii* made us a gift of a game-bag, seemingly of *pita* or plaited palm-leaf, with small white and blackish beads of the same sort as *chaquiras*, saying he had obtained it from those ships, and giving the names of their commanders as "Ôtute" and "Opono[1]."

Our examination of the anchorage afforded by the said harbour being completed we stood in for the beach in order to lay in water, wood, and fire, all of which we quickly procured, though not without experiencing some hindrance by reason of the crowd of people, who thronged about us so that it became necessary for the *arii* to bestir his henchmen to lay about them with sticks. For the excitement was so keen that the masses paid little attention to his orders, and it was only by this means that they were made to draw back a bit.

The *arii* presented a fine large albacore to us, of which we made out supper, and we passed the night in our boat, hauled clear of the beach, after desiring Vehiatua's stepfather to go off to our ships (which were outside) on the morrow with grass for the live-stock, and other fresh things; and this he did. On the

16*th* day of the said month:—We made sail at daybreak in order to go and look at the harbour of "La Virgen," alias *Anuhi*, where the *arii* Pahairiro holds sway; and there came along with us in the boat the aforementioned principal Chiefs with their brothers, and also Pautu's brother-in-law. Soon after we had started, Otù got me to uncover my chest, and, noticing the rosary I was wearing round my neck, he asked me what it was. I

[1] These are the Tahitian forms of Cook, and Furneaux, respectively. The incident relates to Captain Cook's visit to Vaitepiha bay, from which he passed on to Matavai bay, with H.M.SS. *Resolution* and *Adventure* in August 1773 [*cf.* Bibl. nos. 29 and 40].

replied that it was a token Christians have by which we keep clear of the Devil or *Tupapau*—the name these natives apply to him (as will be stated more fully in the *Extracto*[1] on that subject)—at which he seemed very much interested. Pautu then told him that he too was a Christian, and explained to him the ceremony of baptism after being instructed in the principal mysteries of our holy faith. Upon this the Chief enquired whether he himself could not be taught, and have a cross like mine given to him; and I told him that in course of time one should be given him.

On arriving at the aforesaid harbour we stood out into the entrance to examine the depth of water there, and after that we went on shore, where we were met by a great crowd of Indians. We approached the spot where the said Pahairiro was standing with his lady, surrounded by the people of his district. He embraced us, and presented some lengths of the stuff of which they make their light clothing, and was overjoyed at seeing Pautu. The commissioned officer recompensed him with the gift of an axe and two small knives; and the Chief responded with a pig, but this was not accepted. This Chief is a well-built old man of some seventy years, stout to excess, and fairly grey[2].

We took our leave, in order to go and explore the harbour of *Hitiaa* or "San Nicolas," in which district Oreti governs; and when we arrived outside the reef under oars—for we could not make sail, the Chiefs having parted company from us because of the distance and the boat

[1] This *Extracto* was an appendix or supplement that Máximo wrote, with his Diary, in which he described the "customs, rites, and usages" of the Tahitians as observed by himself during his residence in the island, that is, in 1774–5, and to some extent during his previous visit in the *Águila* in 1772. Some time after his return to Lima this very precious document most unfortunately "got lost," as he tells us in his Petition presented to the Viceroy De Croix in 1788 (*q.v.*). It has not come to light again.

[2] See under Dec. 21 for an account of this Chief's obsequies.

being so lumbered up—some canoes which were fishing came out to us and we enquired for the Governor, Oreti. Just then we caught sight of him in a canoe, and as soon as he came up with us he stepped over into our boat, warmly urging us to go to his house. But on our telling him that we only came to take soundings of the roadstead he himself proceeded to point out to us where the bottom was sandy, and where it was rocky; nor did his knowledge prove in any way at fault (as we learned by the lead). He also showed us where a ship had left her anchors, which, according to our enquiries, was French, being the one that carried away Outuru (as may be seen in that narrative)[1].

After our investigation, from which it was clear that the anchorage was not a very safe one, owing to the poorness of the shelter it affords against the prevailing wind and heavy surf there, we stood towards the beach in order to lay in water, wood, and fire, which was forthwith attended to; after which we hauled off again and came to with the grapnel. But so closely were we hemmed in by canoes that we found it impossible to get on with our cooking; and such was the shouting and yelling—each one pressing forward to barter his knick-knacks with us—that, being almost at our wits' end, we asked them to go and fetch us some rats (for they abound at every footfall, wherever you walk) saying that we would then bargain for them. By this expedient we freed ourselves—not, indeed, from the whole lot, for in a little while many of them returned with the said rats, some in their canoes and others by swimming. As soon as we made them pitch the rats away the trick was revealed, and highly applauded by themselves when they saw that they had been [outwitted and] made to toil for nought.

[1] O Reti can only have pointed in the direction of Bougainville's anchorage, which was some seven miles north of Port "San Nicolás" where the Spaniards' boat then was, namely the head of the Taravao bight and near the southern boundary of the province of Hitiaa, marked D on the plan of the island by Hervé (see vol. I, in the pocket).

Some trifles were given to the daughters of Oreti. This Governor Oreti looks a little more than fifty years of age[1], is brown in hue, tall, very active, and has a large and deepish scar on the forehead; he is a man of proved bravery, and quick understanding.

To eat our dinner we made sail on our return journey to the harbour of "La Virgen" from whence the Chiefs had turned homewards. We arrived there at sunset, and brought up with the grapnel. I passed ashore in a canoe, with Pautu, and we asked Pahairiro to tell them to bring us water, wood, and fire, which they did. Then, after chatting awhile during the interval, in the course of which surprise and satisfaction were expressed at the news that I was to remain in the island with the two missionary *Padres*, I retired to the boat, on board of which we passed the night without incident.

17*th* of the same:—We weighed at daybreak, which being observed by Pahairiro he came off to the boat in his canoe, together with his lady, to present some wraps [of native cloth] and some coconuts; and this being concluded we set out for *Ohatutira*, where, just as we were arriving, some canoes came out to greet us; among them being one with a cuddy in which the *arii* Otù's sisters were ensconced. She[2] made me transfer myself into her canoe and accompanied us as far as the harbour of *Guayurua*, for her brother was at that place with the *arii* Vehiatua. On the way she made me a present of some wraps [of native cloth] and a mat, and would not accept an axe from us though that is an article they so greatly prize. We came to Pautu's house, the situation of which these natives call *Apuà*, and we took in some water and fire-wood there, for cooking with. Pautu himself, who had gone ashore alone, having seen the weeping-match his sisters were putting up for him, felt some qualms about returning to

[1] Gayangos says forty-five (*cf.* II, 133; also I, 312, *note* 7).
[2] The narrative changes suddenly from the plural number to the singular for no discernible reason.

the boat when we called him; but we proceeded nevertheless and a little way farther on we noticed a great crowd of people on the beach, and amongst them the two *arii*. We approached and they came on board to greet us, and we told them that we were going on to the district and harbour of *Oyautea*. For this reason the *arii* Otù landed again, and only Vehiatua with one of his head men named Taruri remained. These accompanied us, and we took his canoe in tow, for we were travelling with a flowing sheet. A little after mid-day we cast off the tow-line, by Vehiatua's direction, in order that some food should be brought to us; and in the middle of the afternoon we reached the aforesaid harbour, where we anchored the boat at a distance from shore. We then went on shore, Don Diego Machao, myself, Vehiatua, Pautu and Taruri, to have a look at the countryside: we came to a house of very large dimensions in which we found two fine big canoes, of more than twenty *varas* in length, with two cuddies, and also others of similar burthen with a small platform or fore-castle, that they term *paepae*, capable of supporting as many as eight men. On our asking what this platform was for they told us it was for fighting on when they engage in war with the neighbouring island called Morea, and proceeded to explain their method of combat. We left this house and went on to another, in which we came upon other canoes, of different construction, which they call *pahies*; and in these they make their voyages to other islands with which they hold communication. So numerous was the crowd pressing about us that we lost touch with Pautu, who had strayed apart. Continuing our stroll inland, one of the natives sidled up to me and furtively told me to turn my face aside and I would see the grave or *efata* where Taytoa, whom we had known during the first expedition, was buried. On looking attentively that way I caught sight of a wooden enclosure, now in a tumble-down condition, with weeds growing within and without, and in the midst a small

shed with a pent roof, under which lay the bones of the said Taytoa. This personage had been so fat and huge in stature at the time of our first visit that on the many occasions when he came alongside the frigate our Comandante could never get him to come up on board, more by reason of his proportions than of his age, which looked as if it might be a little over seventy years; he was somewhat hoary headed, good looking, and wore a long full beard reaching to his stomach. This same *arii* was formerly Vehiatua's step-father, and made himself memorable by the wars he waged against the father of the *arii* Otù, in which many of the Chiefs on the said Otù's side lost their lives[1]. On our moving aside as if to approach the place

[1] That this "Taytoa" was identical with the old Vehiatua seems clear from what Máximo states about his age and prowess, and the war with Teu's party. If that is so the passage has a useful historical bearing, since it marks, approximately, the date of the old Vehiatua's death.

The *Padres*, who knew next to nothing of the language and depended on Máximo for their information, mention "the deceased Taytoa (who was the *arii* before Vehiatua)," meaning Vehiatua the son (II, 335); and Boenechea also names him, on the authority of "the Indians on board" who went to Lima (I, 335). These said that "she who is at present the spouse of the *arii* Titorea was formerly the *arii* Taitoa's," referring to Purahi (Opù of the Spaniards) the mother of young Vehiatua. There is no other mention of the old Chief's name in the journals of the *Águila's* first expedition. This seems a notable omission, in view of what Máximo relates about the old gentleman's stoutness, his flowing white beard and imposing presence, and his coming alongside the frigate "on many occasions," yet being unable to ascend the side.

There are nevertheless some points in Máximo's reference to Taitoa which are difficult to reconcile with known facts. The first of these in respect of date is that, while Máximo dwells on Taitoa's fatness and huge stature (in Nov.–Dec. 1772), Joseph Banks who, with Captain Cook, had an interview with the old Vehiatua in June, 1769, described him at that date as "a thin old man with a very white head and beard" [II, xxiv and Bibl. no. 51, vol. II, 158]. He was then still quoted by his dynastic title "Vehiatua," and the name "Taitoa" finds no mention in any of the publications relating to the *Endeavour's* visit. Between June, 1769, and Nov.–Dec., 1772, the old gentleman, if he were indeed the same person, must therefore have grown morbidly obese, or else (which is the more likely) have become dropsical. One might expect that the old Vehiatua's place of sepulture would have been in the *marae* at Tautira; whereas the bones of Taitoa are here stated to have found a resting place in Oyautea, as Máximo calls it—now

of entombment they tried to deter us from doing so; but we persisted and drew near to it, they not daring to advance

Teahupoo. That may admit of explanation on family grounds.

But a further enigma connected with this subject invests the position that Ti'i-torea filled in relation to the Vehiatua family and overlordship at the time of the Spaniards' first visit. Both Boenechea (I, 302) and Hervé (I, 357) name "Titorea" as then being the cacique or *arii* of Taiarapu. Hervé qualifies the title by adding that Ti'i-torea held it "by virtue of his wife, because she was the widow of an *arii* who was the ruling Chief of that District; but when she dies the power passes to the son of the deceased *arii*, who is called Vehiatua." Yet Máximo states that this deceased *ari'i* was in the habit of coming alongside the frigate at the very period when Boenechea wrote, and describes his person. If old Vehiatua's death occurred during the presence of the frigate, in Dec. 1772, it would unquestionably have become known to the Spaniards at the time, and would have been given prominence in their records. But there is no such mention, and the only reference to it is where Hervé styles Purahi this old Chief's "widow," and himself the "deceased *arii*," in the passage just quoted from that officer's "Information acquired" (vol. I, 357).

The puzzle is still further complicated by the circumstance that, whilst Ti'i-torea is described in all the Spanish documents, including Máximo's Diary, as the *padrastro, i.e.* step-father, of young Vehiatua, Máximo applies the same term, in this single instance, to express the relationship of the deceased Taitoa to the young Chief, who was in fact—if Taitoa was really Vehiatua the elder—his legitimate son, by Purahi. I can only account for this by postulating a slip of the pen; but I am not very willing to take that liberty, because *padrasto* (a vernacular corruption of *padrastro*) occurs again in the MS.

It remains humanly certain that the real parents of young Vehiatua (Ta'ata-uraura) and his little brother and successor (Tetua-ounumaona) were the old Vehiatua whose identity with Taitoa is here discussed, and his legitimate consort Te Vahine Moe-atua, familiarly known as Purahi and to the Spaniards as O Pu or O Po. It is worthy of mention that this lady's subsequent alliance with Ti'i-torea, so often alluded to by the Spaniards, is not acknowledged by the collateral descendants (her only two sons both died childless), and was not known to them even by tradition or repute until I brought these narratives to their notice. Nor do they know to what family Ti'i-torea himself belonged.

The custom of changing names, which prevailed among the people, especially Chiefs, in past times makes the investigation of their history very difficult and liable to confusion. On the whole I incline to the view, as regards the question of the identity or otherwise of Taitoa the fat, with Vehiatua the thin, that some writer is at fault. And let the reader here observe that there was a second Taitoa on the scene, one described by Gayangos as "a trusty henchman of Vehiatua (Ta'ata-uraura), a man much esteemed by all of ourselves" (II, 146, etc.). He was a totally different individual from Taitoa *alias* Vehiatua the father.

to where we stood until an Indian went away and brought a small pig, which he laid at the foot of the enclosure in order that Vehiatua might approach it, since without this ceremony no one could come there, for fear of the *Tupapau*. We then retired, however, as we saw how disconcerted they were, and a little farther on we noticed two other stagings supported on four posts, on each of which a coconut was impaled in order that rats might not climb up. The corpse in one of these was so recent that we could not go near it, because of the stench it gave off; and, wishing to learn their reasons for hindering our inspection of it, Vehiatua and his following told us that they were afraid of giving offence to the corpses through their *Tupapau*, who would torment them, and tear out their eyes. We endeavoured to dissuade them from this belief, but they still held to their error. We then retired towards the boat, and seeing that Pautu did not appear they told us he was surrounded by his relations, watching his sisters who were weeping and scarifying their heads, and smearing themselves over, face and body, with the blood. I was much puzzled at this, but when the said Pautu saw me again he ordered them to stop their wailing; which they promptly did, and washed off the blood, to procure the flow of which they slash themselves about the head and shoulders with a shark's tooth. We then left the spot in order to embark, and on my pressing Pautu for an explanation of all this he replied that it was the custom among relations to celebrate the home-coming of one of them after an absence, firstly by a feast, afterwards by weeping, and that were it a woman, sisters or a mother or other near relations, scarification would be performed in like manner. For this reason we advised him not to consent another time to ceremonies like this; but he said it used to be very good, and tried to change the conversation.

So soon as we arrived at the beach we were ferried out in a canoe to where our boat was lying, a little before the sun went down. Vehiatua called for a baked pig, with

stuffing, and many basketsful of plantains and *curos*, which serve in place of bread; and we passed the night without incident.

18*th* day of the same:—We got under way at daybreak, bound for the harbour and district of *Guayuru*[1], a little less than two leagues distant, and when we arrived there I passed ashore with Pautu, in one of the canoes that were convoying us, in order to look up the parents of the deceased Franco Bonechea (alias Toheyau[2]) while the anchorage was being examined. We took the path towards the house of its Governor, named Tuivivirau, only to find ourselves blocked by the great crowd and hubbub, which he was unable to restrain even by the free use of blows; and so I was obliged to turn back to the boat, observing that Pautu was in favour of giving the clothing that had been the said deceased islander's to Vehiatua, for it was on this business that we had come to look for his parents. We started back again for the harbour of *Oayautea*, and on the way thither we got a view of the district of *Mataoae*, not stopping for a moment for fear of delaying our business. We reached the said *Oayautea* at mid-day: the boat's crew got their dinner, and we started again for the harbour of "Sta Maria Magdalena," alias *Guayurua*. When we got there we met the *arii* Otù's mother, named Marorari, and his father Otihino[3], who were just then offering up prayers to their god Oteatua, in his *marae* or temple, that his *Tahuas* or priests call *Opunua*: at which

[1] By "Guayuru" Máximo indicates Vaiuru, the old name of the district of Vairaao; this must not be confused with Guayurua (at the opposite part of the peninsula), by which he means Vaiurua called "Puerto de Santa María Magdalena."

[2] The *T* in this name, as written, is adventitious. The boy's name was Heiao, or Heiau.

[3] I do not recognise these names: they were probably personal and familiar. Be it remembered that Máximo had become the adopted son of this couple, by reason of his "brotherhood" with their son Tu. The father was generally known as Hapai'i at this date, and later on as Teu. The mother is elsewhere quoted as Bayere or Fayere; her official title or name was Tetupaia-i-Hauiri.

I was present. After that I retired to the boat, where we passed the night amidst some showers of rain.

19*th* day:—As soon as it was day we set out to rejoin our frigate, and the *arii* Otù, Vehiatua and Hinoy embarked with us; but having gained an offing of four leagues, and seeing the horizon was becoming obscured and the frigate nowhere discernible, we soon put back and reached the land at noon or a little after. The Chiefs and myself went on shore in quest of water, wood, and fire, and we also made an Indian climb a good tall coconut palm to keep a look-out for our ships; and when, in a little while, he reported that they were in sight, his Honour the officer gave the order to leave all the jobs we had in hand, and we set off again in a great hurry, the Chiefs embarking with us. We arrived [alongside] at sundown, when the said Chiefs were welcomed by the Señor Comandante and their Honours the officers, who presented them with three axes in the name of the King, being one each for Otù, Vehiatua, and his step-father Titorea. We then stood farther out to sea, as we mistrusted the heavy squalls that were about.

22*nd* day:—A double canoe arrived alongside in which there came Vehiatua's mother, weeping for her son and her husband, and relating how the *arii* Otù's relatives on shore were very anxious about him; but the latter explained that they had not been able to return to the shore because of the bad weather that had prevailed, telling her also how well we had looked after them; and she thereupon became pacified. The Señor Comandante then ordered her canoe to be hoisted inboard, for he saw that the squalls and showery weather were continuing, and they gladly consented.

23*rd* of the same:—The weather having moderated the Comandante gave the order to stand in for the land, that the boat might be sent away with the Chiefs, and at the same time convoy the canoe; and this was accordingly

done. D. Juan de Manterola, lieutenant of infantry, and myself being ordered to go in her. But, scarcely had we shoved off when we were overtaken by some showers, so that the harbour became obscured from view, and when it afterwards cleared up we entered by another passage farther to the nor'ard[1] than that of *Guayurua*, and followed along inside the reef until we reached the said place. There we met the parents and kinsfolk of the *arii* Otù setting up a great weeping and wailing amidst an innumerable following of natives, the women folk smearing themselves with blood because of the great concern they had felt through being separated from their Chiefs for the space of four days, and suspecting us of having carried them off to Lima. The priest or *tahua* also intervened with an oration to his God on the restoration of his Chiefs, and presented some plantain suckers to the said Otù; these were laid at his feet as an oblation and an accompaniment to the wailing of the mother and the other ladies who attended her. On the ceremony being brought to a close they withdrew in order to wash their upper parts, which were besmeared with blood; and after that they engaged in gossip with the Chiefs, about how it had fared with them during the days these latter had spent on board with us. They were also shown the gifts we had bestowed.

The weather continuing bad we found ourselves compelled to pass the night here; but, in the meanwhile, Vehiatua, wishing to know what force a musket-ball carried, set apart a canoe to see whether one fired at it would pass through it, and some trials were made. The result happened as we expected, and caused great wonder at the extent of damage produced. Nightfall overtaking us while we were still on shore it was necessary for us to be ferried off to our boat by means of a canoe, and his Honour our officer came near being drowned, for he was left hanging on only to the gunwale of the said canoe, the

[1] This will have been the Vaionifa passage, just three miles from Vaiurua.

night being very dark and with heavy rain falling. So I thought it as well to remain among the natives, and they provided me with good lodging: nevertheless I had some misgivings, lest I be deemed a contravener of our very strict orders on this subject.

24*th* day of the same:—We started out to sea as soon as day broke, with the intention of going aboard the frigate, as one of them had told us the vessels were in sight; but in a short time we put back into the harbour because of a heavy squall, and when it had passed over we saw a number of canoes come out from the bay of *Ohatutira,* in which the relations of the *arii* Otù were approaching to make atonement in celebration of his return, as his parents themselves had done the day before. At this I resolved to disabuse myself of doubt and find out exactly about their fashion of slashing their heads.

All those who were able to take part in it came wrapped from the waist downwards in a small mat, and their bodies bared from the waist upward, without any drapery, both to save it from getting besmeared with blood and also because they may not remain with the shoulders covered in the presence of their *arii*; the wraps they ordinarily wear they then presented to the said *arii*, who gave some of them to me.

On[1] this same afternoon Vehiatua came begging that he might be shown what damage a ball fired from a musket can do, which wish we gratified by setting up a canoe as a target; and when he saw that the ball had passed through both sides of it he was amazed, and asked to be allowed to fire at it himself. This was consented to, but the piece was not left entirely in his control, for fear of an accident; and through this [experiment] he became highly pleased

[1] This paragraph is redundant, merely repeating the incident of firing at a canoe related on the previous day. It looks, too, as if the description of the blood homage had been left unfinished, or had given place to the repetition aforesaid, by some mischance.

with the fire-arm. We passed the night there, anchored as we were, with many showers.

25*th* day of the same:—We got under way at daybreak to go in search of our ships, and on passing outside the reef we found one vessel, which was the storeship, coming by order of the Señor Comandante to fetch us. We steered towards her and went on board, taking the boat along in tow astern. In the afternoon we came up with the frigate and transferred ourselves to her; and the boat was hoisted in.

28*th* day of same:—We anchored in the course of the afternoon in the harbour of *Ohatutira*, when a great multitude of canoes came off, and with them the *arii* Otù and Vehiatua. The Señor Comandante called the latter aside, as Chief of the *terrain* and harbour of *Ohatutira*, to arrange about a site for the *Padres'* house and garden, and he replied that he would be very pleased if Señor D. Thomas Gayangos would go, with the *Padre* Fr. Narciso, and point out the situation they would prefer; and that he himself would join them in the morning with that object.

29*th* of the same:—Vehiatua being there, Señor D. Thomas and the *Padre* Fr. Narciso, with myself and Vehiatua, embarked in the boat and went ashore to prospect, and to fix upon the area that should seem best and most appropriate for the house in question. This we found about seventy *varas* distant from the river, although it had upon it some sloppy patches dug by hand where they make their yam[1] beds and vegetable patches, for their support; but it is an easy matter to fill these in and level off the ground for the kitchen-garden. After our inspection of it we embarked in the boat again and proceeded on board, and the Comandante was informed of

[1] These were *taro* beds, of course, not yam patches. Spaniards usually called *taro* and even *ape* by the term employed here, *ñames*. In western equatorial Africa *taro* (*Colocasia*) is known to explorers as the "Koko-yam." In Polynesia many varieties of *taro* are grown in swamps; but not so any yams (*Dioscorea*).

the situation and quality of the ground. At this the *Padre* Fr. Geronimo began to oppose the selection made, so the Comandante decided to go ashore and investigate the whole thing for himself.

30*th* of the same:—The Comandante went, with the *Padres*, carpenters, and myself, to mark off the plot, and when he arrived there he chose the same site that had been examined the day before, for it is the best. On this day some palms were cut down to make pickets of, and the Comandante afterwards went on board again; but I stayed on shore with the carpenters until noon, when we all went off to dinner. Dinner over, we returned ashore, the carpenters and I; and during the afternoon I asked Vehiatua to give orders for the ground to be cleared and stubbed, which was done by his people and Hinoy's, and even Hinoy himself [lent a hand at it].

DECEMBER

On the 1*st* day of this month we above-mentioned landed, and afterwards the Comandante arrived with the Master to mark off the site, and got it all pegged out. In the course of this it was pointed out to Vehiatua that two huts stood in the way, and he ordered their owners to vacate them and re-erect them in another place, which was immediately done.

The launch came ashore to-day for fresh water and a seaman strayed away from her to wash some clothes; and while he was doing so a shirt was stolen from him (for they are great thieves) and he got so annoyed with the Indians that he gave them to understand that, if it were not brought back, an armed party would come with fire-arms. News of this soon reached the Chief's ears, whereupon they set about retiring to their houses and collecting their chattels, and were launching their canoes with the intention of moving off to another district of the island, all being caused by the timid nature of these natives.

Vehiatua had already embarked and was ready to start, when he sent for me, and I went not knowing anything [of the trouble]. I found him as I have stated, in his cuddy, and he told me all about it; saying that he had a mind to go off with all his followers, together with Otù, who had also been threatened. I tried to dissuade him from this, telling him that he should not believe such a thing of us, and for proof I begged him for a canoe, in which I went off to the frigate and made the Comandante aware of what was happening. He, presuming it was some soldier of the crew who had gone in the launch, ordered the Senior Lieutenant, D. Thomas Gayangos, and the Master, to embark with the party that had gone in the launch, together with myself and Pautu as interpreters. We reached the shore, and D. Juan Ervé[1] and I went on ahead to discuss the matter with the Chiefs. We espied the *arii* Otù sitting with some of his followers outside the house of his parents, and as soon as he caught sight of us he began to show signs of fear—to judge from his manner and expression. We went up to him and embraced him; and meanwhile D. Thomas Gallangos, who had made himself a great favourite with the Chief's mother Bayere, which name of hers was the one she had conferred upon him, arrived [on the spot], and took a seat, while I went across with D. Juan Ervé to see Vehiatua. He received us in much trepidation, and had the food which was before him cleared away, for he was eating at the time. We entered his cuddy, and made him go on with his repast: [assuring him] that we had come only to learn who the person was that had threatened them, so that he might be punished; and on this he became somewhat relieved. We then went over again to see Otù, and on asking him to point out which of the soldiers present had threatened him he replied that it was not any one of those, and explained that it had been a seaman. D. Thomas Gallangos

[1] Juan Hervé was the Chief Pilot of the frigate, a rank corresponding to Master in the British Navy at that date.

therefore ordered the boat back to the ship with a request to the Comandante that the launch's crew might be sent ashore, which was done; and on the said seamen being lined up in the *arii* Otù's presence he pointed out one of them—though with a good deal of nervousness. The which [culprit] being identified the said gentleman ordered him to be made fast, and they took him on board in close custody, telling the *arii* that it was the Comandante who would have to order the punishment to be awarded the man. Upon this the *arii*, together with Vehiatua who had now arrived on the scene, began to beg the Señor D. Thomas not to let any hurt be done to the man, to which he answered that he had no choice in the matter, but that they might go off to the frigate themselves, if they liked, and lay their request before the Comandante in the seaman's behoof; and so they went off with us with that object. When we arrived on board the frigate the affair was fully reported to the Comandante, who ordered the man to be flogged at a gun; but, on the gun being first fired to give effect to the flogging, the Comandante yielded to the fickle-minded petition of the Chiefs. The seaman was put in irons, however, as was also another one, against whom there was evidence of having tried to go off with a woman. The Chiefs were thereupon pleased with the consideration shown to them, and withdrew to the shore after having [been regaled with] something to eat.

2nd day of the same:—In the morning I landed with the carpenters and we struck up the ravine of Ataroa to prospect for timbers which might be of service in building the house; and the *arii* Vehiatua arranged that we should go accompanied by some members of his household, in order that none of the country people should offer us any hindrance. Some 90 trees were examined and blazed by mid-day, when we went back on board to dinner. In the afternoon we returned to the shore and a beginning was made with the mud walls, of which it was contemplated

the house should be built; but after having completed one, and another being in process, it was seen that the soil was unserviceable for that purpose, as the wall kept cracking all over. This being noticed by the Chiefs, they offered to let their own people help with the work, and [advised] that the building should be of wood, for which they said all the trees that might be required should be felled, and they each indicated a portion for his own share of the job; Otù remarking that the ship "Otute[1]," which had lain at anchor three months at *Matabay*, did it this way, and explaining, moreover, that that house had port-holes [in the walls] for firing through.

3*rd* day of same:—I landed with the carpenters to cut timber, and the Chiefs lent us some of their people to enable the logs to be brought down the river. Twenty *euros* [bread-fruit] trees were felled by ten o'clock in the day, when the people who were hauling them asked that they might go and rest at the house site until noon. We went on board for dinner, and returned at two in the afternoon to cut more trees; but Vehiatua asked me to knock off the felling, because his people had represented that they would perish of famine if we went on, as this is the bread they eat. I replied that it seemed he was going back on his promise, and then he took the stand-point that if they were to continue we must give an axe for every two or three [trees] and that this had been done in the case of the ship "Otute[2]." I told him that, to do so, ships laden with axes would have to come, and that therefore the house would not be built and we should return to Lima; and that I would now go to the Comandante and communicate Vehiatua's design or proposal. To

[1] Meaning not the ship named *Otute*, but *Otute's* (*i.e.* Captain Cook's) ship.

[2] Cook has recorded that, when building the Fort at Matavai, "The wood we made use of for this occasion we purchased of them, and we cut no Tree down before we had first obtained their Consent" [Bibl. no. 30, p. 64].

this he replied that he would not I should do that, and urged that the felling should go on; and I omit other arguments I put before him, touching the advantages our coming to settle in the island would bring to them, since he would not lack the favour of our Monarch. He also added that he had proposed this under the impression that we wanted to cut the trees for fire-wood, and then go off: on which point I satisfied him, although I knew this was merely an excuse[1].

4*th* day of d°, Sunday:—The *arii* Vehiatua came on board in the morning to ask the Comandante to lend him our boat, saying he was going to *Tayarapu*; but this was not granted, and he therefore called for one of his canoes with a cuddy and said he would be back in the afternoon. No work was done on this day; but, when mass was over, more than two hundred canoes were seen coming inside the reef bringing supplies of provisions for Otù from his lands at *Opare*. The eatables they brought were plantains, *euros*, coconuts, fish, etc. In the afternoon the Comandante sent ashore to try and take note of what they were about, suspecting that some rising against us might be in progress, partly by reason of this concourse of canoes and partly lest Vehiatua might have gone [to *Taiarapu* with a view] to fetch as many again, or more. He also ordered the ship's guns to be loaded, and the small-arms to be got ready, in case of anything that might happen.

When the canoes reached the shore a great clamour arose on the beach, and many Indians with sticks made as if to plunder the canoes and carry off the eatables they were freighted with, as far as I could make out; for it is

[1] One would have expected Máximo to realise what this ruthless felling of bread-fruit trees meant to the natives, especially as he had been in the island with the previous expedition. But his function was to interpret, and further the work of the frigate's carpenters in any way he could within his province; he had to tide over, rather than espouse, any objections the natives might put forward, and we know that he had an unwavering respect for the orders of his official superiors.

the custom among them, as I am informed, when one *arii* is staying in the territory of another and they bring him food from his own district, for the people of the country to seize upon it without the others being able to hinder them[1]. While this was going on another party of Indians came up, who grasped me by the hand and led me away to where they held one of the storeship's seamen detained, on account of having misconducted himself with a woman and afterwards taken away what he had given her, which was a kerchief. I made them bring him out from where they had got him, and on my asking him why they made him [fast] in this way he attempted to obfuscate with frivolous words what all the others told me, until I had the woman called up, when, seeing himself convicted, he handed over the kerchief to me. At this moment his captain, attracted by the hubbub and fearing lest something had gone wrong with his men that were with the launch, came upon the spot and found himself face to face with the trouble. After acquainting himself clearly with the facts he went off with the delinquent to the frigate, where the latter was put in the bilboes to await punishment on the following day.

Vehiatua returned from *Tayarapu* in the evening, and I retired on board to acquaint the Comandante with all that had happened.

5*th* day of d°:—I went with the carpenter's gang to cut timber for their work, and likewise a hard-wood tree that was wanted for a maul to drive in pickets [for the fence]. The seaman out of the storeship received a flogging on board the frigate this day. We went on board at noon for dinner, and returned [asbore] in the afternoon. Vehiatua said to me that same afternoon that he wished the King would make him a present of a skiff, and I replied that I would communicate his desire to the Vicerov.

[1] Andía y Varela gives a better account of this scramble (which he calls a sham fight) in his Journal. See vol. II, p. 269.

6th day of dº:—I landed in the morning with the working party to proceed with cutting the timber; but they were only able to bring in fourteen poles for the house before mid-day, when we withdrew on board for dinner. In the afternoon we returned ashore and some trees close by the house were felled, as well as some palms, one of which in the act of falling struck a seaman belonging to the frigate with its leaves and broke his spine, killing him instantly. The Indians were so scared at this occurrence that they began to take themselves off, some gathering together whatever they had in their houses, while others embarked in their canoes. Just then the Señor Comandante arrived on shore, and spoke to Vehiatua, who although somewhat alarmed was keeping quiet and not making any move; but in the end he calmed down, and it was explained to him that the thing was an accident, that the blame did not lie with the natives, and that he should send to call back Otù, who had slunk off by land for his own districts, with many of his people. He did so, and directed several Indians to start away and overtake Otù with all speed, and urge him to come back; which in a little while he did, and overcame his nervousness. When they had quite recovered their composure we withdrew and went on board.

7th day of dº:—In the morning I went with the working party to cut some poles. The seaman was interred this day, at three *varas'* distance from the front corner of the house. There was nothing else particular on this day.

8th day of dº:—No work was done; but they stole a jacket with his silver whistle from the coxswain of the boat, who on making enquiries, succeeded in getting word of the thief[1].....could recover it for certain.

9th day of dº:—Nothing particular happened, except a dance that they call *heiba*; but the ceremonies and style of these entertainments shall be explained farther on.

[1] A blank, of probably a few words, occurs here in the MS.

10*th* day of d°:—Vehiatua banished the Indians of the gully, for not having contributed the food supplies due from them; the number of those banished was very large.

11*th* day of d°:—When I arrived on shore with the working party I found all the Indians in a state of excitement, some fixing the cuddies on to their canoes, others arming themselves for battle; and, going up to Hinoy, whom I found wearing a tunic that Señor Don Raymundo had given him, I asked him what it all meant. He answered that the Indians of the gully whom Vehiatua had banished the day before had risen in revolt against him, in consequence of which that *arii* and all his party had gone to punish them for their hardihood; and that Otù had also gone with his own people in pursuit of them, to assist Vehiatua if necessary and, in case of being worsted, to rescue him and carry him off to *Opare*, one of his [Otù's] districts.

On learning this I went on board and reported it to the Comandante, who ordered me to return to the shore and keep myself informed of everything and see what the upshot would be; and at the same time he detailed an officer, with a serjeant, a corporal and squad, to protect the house and cover our own party at work there in the event of an assault of any kind. I myself went forward, accompanied by some natives, to where the combat was going on, and after walking rather more than half a league I came to where Otù was encamped with over four hundred Indians who were wrecking all the huts they found and looting everything they could lay hands on, for they destroyed even the seedling beds that had been made. I passed on until I met Vehiatua, whom I found with quite two hundred Indians carrying clubs, long spears, and slings, over and above those who had gone still farther ahead in pursuit of the fugitives. Presently one of his captains arrived with a good number of people bringing

in one of the rebels a prisoner, and on coming up to Vehiatua the captain presented a small plantain shoot to him, together with the offender. Presuming that he would be punished I asked what the man's end would be, and was told that a tree they call *evizo* was to be his punishment. But nothing was done to the prisoner after all, as they interceded in his behalf and he was pardoned.

Then I suggested to Vehiatua that he might now come away, as his captains would finish the business, and with this he complied, directing some of his head men to retire and others to remain encamped where we were. Some of them came forward and each one presented his plantain shoot. Just then Otù arrived too, and Vehiatua laid hold of one of the shoots that had been presented to himself and offered it to Otù. Seeing that he still lingered I came away with Otù, and Vehiatua overtook us later and was very pleased at seeing our soldiery on shore, thinking they had come to support his cause. So he made us a present of some plantains and came on board with us, where we dined and passed the afternoon without further incident.

12*th* day of d°:—In the morning I went on shore with the working party, and asked Vehiatua to have some portions of the thatch from the ruined huts brought, to which he very readily assented; and they brought several lots of it.

13*th* day of d°:—In the morning I landed with the carpenters and fifteen *euro* trees were felled, and a few of a wood called *evi*.

14*th* day of d°:—I landed in the morning with the carpenters, and nine trees were felled, which were all brought in by middle day; and in the afternoon I was called to visit a sick aunt of the *arii* Otù. When I stepped inside the house they received me weeping, declaring that her illness admitted of no cure, and that she would surely die I also noticed that the *tahua*, a sort of Fathers or

priests[1] that they have among them, was putting up a prayer to Teatua, their divinity, with a plantain shoot in front of him and some leaves of the *ñame*. I sat me down by the invalid and on desiring her to let me feel her pulse I knew that she must have a severe calenture, for it was very full and bounding. I asked her whereabouts she ailed and she answered "All over," for she was scarcely able to sit up even; and in the course of various questions I put to her I became aware that there was suppression of the menses, on account of which I put it to her that she should submit to be bled on the morrow, and explained to her our method of blood-letting, to which both she and her relatives very readily gave consent.

15*th* day of d°:—Fifteen bread-fruit trees were cut in the course of the morning to provide fire-wood for the storeship, and in the meanwhile I stepped across to Tutaraa's house—for this was the invalid's name—with the storeship's phlebotomist, to whom I had already related the story of her illness; and she resigned herself to be bled without making any trouble about it whatever.

16*th* day of d°:—Three large trees of a timber they call *puparao* were felled, which same were asked for by the captain of the storeship, who said he needed them for particular purposes he could not state. On this day a draught compounded of our medicines was given to the afore-mentioned invalid, who took it on being told that it would afford her complete relief: two hours later she was advised to let herself be bled in the other arm, to which she raised some demur, notwithstanding that she admitted feeling somewhat better. Nevertheless I urged her to submit to be bled, and after a lot of pressing she consented, her relations being desired to withdraw and not let the *tahua* come in the way any longer, with his prayers and his plantain shoots, for I had said that if I found him there again I would go away myself and not attend to her any more.

[1] "Papas ó sacerdotes" in the original.

17*th* day:—A beginning was made at getting the rafters into position for the roof of the house, and the natives brought something like fifty *purae*[1] poles for the purpose, by Vehiatua's direction. The invalid recognising her improvement, and the same being publicly known, another one came along to-day with an abscess in her cheek and asked that she too might be treated. A dressing of our ointments was applied, and induced suppuration of the abscess; for so I was told when I returned at the end of a few days to see her.

In the afternoon of this day Opo, the mother of Vehiatua, set out with her husband Titorea for *Papara*, in consequence of having heard of the death of a relative of hers. About this time several Indians, nobles and commoners, died of a pestilence that attacked them, which was neither more nor less than a severe chill; and as they always go into the water and observe no care to sweat themselves as we do, it takes such hold of their bodies that many of them die. But they say that this illness comes from our sojourn amongst them, because it was the same way during the first expedition of the frigate[2].

In the afternoon I had a great confabulation with Vehiatua and his people in consequence of two of ours having gone to cut a little grass, which the Indians said belonged to a *marae* or cemetery, where they do not allow any produce to be cut, or pulled up, or gathered, because they deem it dedicated to their superstitions.

18*th* day of d°:—We made up our difference with Vehiatua, who showed us a thousand marks of affection and concern at our having been cross with him. Not much work could be done this day, because of the rain and bad weather.

19*th* day of d°:—A beginning was made towards getting

[1] Meant perhaps for *purau* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*, Linn.).

[2] It is probable that this was an epidemic catarrhal fever of the nature of influenza. See the INTRODUCTION, vol. I, xxix and xxxv: and *cf.* other accounts of it, vol. II, 51, and 141 with *note* 3.

the portable house ashore; and, being forewarned by Vehiatua's Indian captain or adjutant named Taitoa[1], who had been told off to have charge of the tools and other ironwork belonging to the doorways, I mean door-posts, that somebody might make off with them during the night, I went off on board and reported this to the Comandante, who gave orders for four soldiers and a corporal, or serjeant, to come and mount guard over all the woodwork. This was the first night on which I slept on shore; and I received some presents from Vehiatua, such as plantains, etc.

20*th* day of d°:—The house was fitted together; and, as Vehiatua asked to be allowed to sleep inside it, he brought some things for the soldiers who were on guard over it to sup off. And after we had placed the beds he made us shift them, for it seems we had arranged them with the feet pointing towards a *marae*, and he said we must lie with our heads that way, so we complied with the superstition to please him.

21*st* day of d°:—News reached Vehiatua that the *arii* Pahairiro had died, which he lamented, but not very much. At mid-day all the Chiefs started with their families for "Puerto de la Virgen" to pay their respects by mourning in their accustomed manner; and Bayere, the mother of Otù, invited me to take part in this function, at the same time giving me to understand that I must share in their sorrow because I was related to the deceased *arii*, inasmuch as he was related to all the Chiefs[2].

They brought the canoes with their cuddies to shore, so that all the people should collect together; and, so

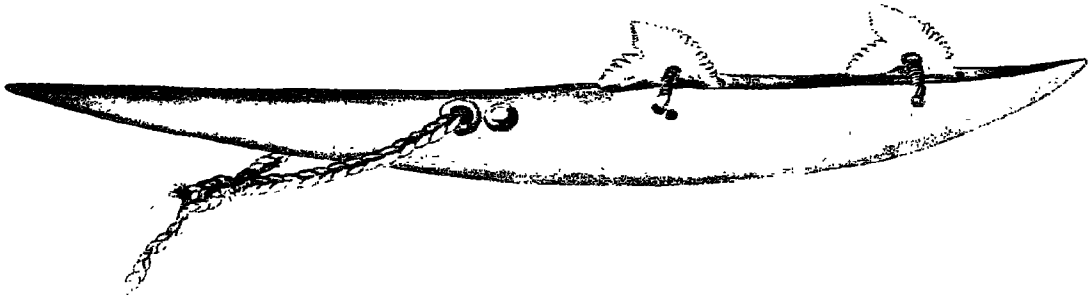
[1] This must in no wise be confused with the same name where mentioned in relation to Vehiatua's deceased father (*cf.* note on pp. 12–13).

[2] *Cf.* Gayangos' Journal, vol. II, 141–2. He there states that Pahairiro was Vehiatua's father's brother. He was the ruling Chief of Anuhi, now called Pueu. Both he and his son Marae-ta'ata are mentioned by Captain Cook. Taharoa bay, which the Spaniards called "Puerto de la Virgen," is between two and three miles west of the bay of Vaitepiha, or Tautira—a pleasant spot.

soon as the mourning party learned where the corpse was lying, the women appointed to scarify their heads and besmear themselves with the blood were told off. They proceeded to divest themselves of the good clothing they were wearing, and wrapped themselves below the arms in little mats instead, both to save their good clothes from getting blood-stained and because they were in the presence of the *arii* Otù. We walked to where the body lay, the men going in front and the women following behind them, and on arriving within a short distance of the house each Chief proceeded to pull up a plantain shoot, and one of the commoners began to howl just as if they had been dogs, that the bereaved ones might make ready to receive the Chiefs' mourning party. Arrived in front of the house, Otù disposed his people in a circle outside it, throwing down at the same time the plantain shoot he was carrying in his hands: which, in their estimation, is an offering. The women then came forward with very solemn steps, each one bearing under her arm a cloth wrap intended as an offering to the deceased; and on approaching the head of the bier on which the body lay the two who had scarified themselves all over their faces and heads, and were besmeared with blood, threw down the wraps and remained seated and weeping. Vehiatua came forward from the other side of the house, accompanied by his people, and sat down next the bereaved. Presently, all the wraps being gathered together into a heap, they were placed within a cleared space destined to become the grave.

The wailing then ceased and a general conversation ensued. The *arii* Otù called me to his side to give him some account of Spain and the countries of which our Sovereign enjoys possession, and then discoursed with his followers on the multitude of lands I had told him about[1].

[1] Though Máximo was a Limeño proper, so far as we know, he had been to Spain and spent at least some months there, be it remembered. *Cf.* his Memorial to the Viceroy de Croix.



A SCARIFICATOR OF SHARK'S TEETH

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He asked me in what manner we conduct our battles, and about the damage caused by cannon, as to which I satisfied him on all points; and he became very keen that we should bring him some armour, such as a coat of mail, a shoulder-piece, and morion with casque, as I had told him that they could do no hurt to anyone wearing armour of that kind. Turning the conversation to religion and his *tahuas* or priests he told me that such was their power that if a *tahua* should get angry with me he would be able to bring about my death within two days; and that, if perchance he should fail, he would find means to procure some of my spittle and do it up in a piece of coconut which he would bury in the soil, and in two days' time I would find my testicles so swollen that they would reach the ground, or that I would be crippled in some fashion or other; in reply to which I begged of him, with much insistence, that a trial should be made. He called to one [of his men] to come and play the priest, as there was not a *tahua* present at the moment, and to recite his incantations and harangues, in order to see whether I would betray any fear; but finding that I laughed it all to scorn he became perplexed.

Then they all retired to their canoe-cuddies, as it was nearly nightfall; but I stepped over towards the deceased, whom I found stretched on a kind of barbecue constructed of poles and raised above the ground. The body was covered with native cloth, the hands rested on the breast, with a little bunch of feathers between the fingers and another stuck in a fold of the *maro*. Four Indians of his own district were seated, one at each corner of the barbecue, holding stalks of the ginger plant, with which they swished away the flies and wiped off the blood that was oozing from the mouth[1].

I passed the night uncomfortably enough, as we all

[1] The "ginger" stalks were perhaps turmeric leaves, *rere'a* (*Curcuma longa*, Linn.), one of the same Order, Scitamineae.

slept on [sheaves of] plantain leaves, and there were some showers of rain.

22*nd* day of dº:—At daybreak, when about to embark in the canoes and return to *Ohatutira*, I saw the body being carried along the beach; and, on asking where it was going to, his son, who was following behind with four Chiefs and a *tahua* or priest, told me they were conveying it to the *marae* or cemetery, and that after the *opures*—a prayer they call thus—should be concluded, it would be returned to his house, where the grave was already prepared. The said cemetery is some ten *quadras* distant from the house.

After this I embarked for *Ohatutira*: and a beginning was made at thatching the house.

23*rd* day of dº:—Taitoa's people came to continue working at the roof of the house, and observing that there were but few of them and they didn't get on with it at all, I fetched some small knives as gratuities for the thatchers; and nothing new happened until the

26*th* day of dº:—The working party having come [ashore] some of the storeship's men went off into the gorge, with permission to wash clothes, and a shirt and some drawers being stolen from a sailor, they replied to his enquiry [for the culprit] that they did not know. He then made an Indian fast, and struck another one, but came and told me about it and what he had done, saying he was going to do as much for another of them; to which I answered that he had better wait until I could go with Taitoa and find out about it; but he would not wait, and took himself off. In a little while I heard a noise and went towards the place and found that they were now bringing in the said seaman, unconscious from the blow of a stone they had thrown at him, and the Indians, seeing the injury it had inflicted, were beginning to make off with all speed, launching their canoes into the water and escaping in all directions. This being observed on board the frigate, his Honour the Comandante gave orders for four soldiers to

come, together with four others who were on shore, and the Lieutenant of Marines, and learn what was the matter. But when these arrived they found the said seaman had already been put into the boat belonging to his vessel, so they took him off to the frigate to be attended to. Their honours the officers arrived afterwards and found only Vehiatua, who assured them with regard to it that he would not decamp but would deliver over the assailant, and he forthwith went off into the gorge in search of him. One of Vehiatua's captains named Tetumanua hid him [however]; but the *arii* Vehiatua sent people to hunt for him, who brought in a man in custody, declaring he was the assailant, and that the said captain was blocking everything that his *arii* commanded. We returned towards the house, his Honour Don Thomas Gayangos directing the Indian to be brought along in his sight, so that he should not escape; and as soon as we arrived there that officer ordered Don Nicolas de Toledo to acquaint the Comandante with what was passing and ask for such instructions as might seem to him best. He returned saying that Vehiatua was to be told that in view of the little regard he was showing towards our Sovereign, in spite of having himself seen how promptly we punished our own [defaulters], the *Padres* were unwilling to stay among such untrustworthy people; and his Honour the Comandante was therefore issuing orders for the house to be taken to pieces again, but that he would delay doing so until the following day upon the sole condition that the tools be brought on board and the house remain shut up, and that he [Vehiatua] would have to see to it that no theft took place, for in the contrary event things would go ill with him. We retired on board for the night.

The two natives Pautu and Maititi[1] now became very

[1] Tetuanui (Manuel) now appears for some days under this name Maititi. His and Pautu's discontent arose, of course, through fear of being detained on board the frigate and carried back to Lima, now that relations had become strained. *Cf.* Gayangos' Journal, II, 149 and *note*.

morose and said they would cast themselves ashore naked, that they wanted no clothes nor anything else from us, but only to stay in their own country; which made us wonder at their ingratitude.

27th day of d°:—Vehiatua started off when day broke for the district of *Guayurua*, with some few others who had remained over, as we learned from Taitoa, who came off about nine in the forenoon. He said that his *arii* had ordered him to come on board and tell us that the assailant was now tied up, and that if his Honour Don Thomas, with Don Diego Machao, myself, Pautu and Maititi, would go to *Guayurua*, Vehiatua would hand the prisoner over to us. Seeing Taitoa so earnest about it the Señor Comandante directed us to land—his Honour Don Thomas, Don Diego Machao, myself and Pautu—with some soldiers; and when we reached the house his Honour Don Thomas ordered me to go with Pautu to where Vehiatua was, [saying] that he himself would follow later. But at this moment an Indian came up and told me something that Thomas [Pautu] had been saying to Vehiatua, and that the latter had [in consequence] gone on with all the rest to *Oayautea*. I started off, nevertheless, by land, with an Indian as guide, to find out about it for certain. When I had walked a good long way I met two Indians carrying a stolen sheep, and on my asking them where they were taking it to they answered that it was for the *arii* Otù: to which I did not reply. After walking a little more than a league my guide noticed that I was tired, and offered to carry me on his back; but I did not consent to this proposal farther than to tell him I would proceed in that fashion as far as the beach, in order to see if I could find a canoe to take me on. When the two who were carrying the sheep saw this they told me they had a small canoe near by, and we got into her with the sheep; the guide going on by land, as the canoe was too small to carry any more people. After I had travelled a good long stretch

farther I met Maititi's mother, who was coming with an intention to steal him away, as I afterwards learned. Continuing my journey along past Pautu's house there was an Indian on the reef, and he sang out to my paddlers to capsize the canoe; I called to him in a mild tone "What are you angry about?" To this he retorted by only yelling, from which they [the two canoemen] began to be afraid lest the *arii* Otù should take them to task for bringing me; so I told them not to worry about that, because I was the *arii's* brother. A little way beyond that I came to where Vehiatua's canoe-cuddies were. I asked for him, and they said he was farther ahead with Otù, intending to set out on the morrow for *Oayautea*. I then asked for Pautu, and they said he had stayed behind at his house.

At sunset I reached the place where the *arii* were, and they received me gladly enough and with tears, for they counted themselves my kinsmen; and, when I had acquainted them with all that I have related, they were quite agreeable to come back with me on the morrow: and there I passed the night among them all.

28*th* day of dº:—In the morning I went out with the *arii* Otù, his mother, and his brother Hinoy, to desire Vehiatua to start away with us for *Ohatutira*, but when the canoe approached the beach I found that Pautu was seated in Vehiatua's cuddy, wearing a shirt and a jacket, but turned back so as to leave his shoulders bare. When he saw me he covered himself on the side I had in view, but left the other one still exposed. Vehiatua came away with us in very good spirits, wherefore I made Otù's mother step over into Vehiatua's cuddy where Pautu was, to put him in a better frame of mind. We had gone a good long way when we met the *tohoa*[1] or captain Itari, who gave Vehiatua a good account of our people, saying he

[1] Máximo writes *tohoa* for *toa*, meaning a warrior or brave. It must not be confused with *tahua*, which he writes correctly, meaning a learned or skilled person in any craft, but especially one educated in the cult of religion—a "priest."

had been on board the day before and that they had shown him a thousand marks of affection, and telling Vehiatua he might proceed without any misgivings. The latter thereupon urged the paddlers forward, but when we arrived abreast of Pautu's homestead a number of persons came out on to the beach and shouted to the canoes, telling them not to go on because our people would seize Vehiatua, and that Pautu also was included. On this Vehiatua, prompted by Pautu, again took alarm; and when I asked the latter what made him say such a thing he answered me curtly that he didn't want Vehiatua to go any farther. So Vehiatua, calling out to the other canoes, in which Otù and his family were coming along, made them haul in to the shore. I kept on trying to persuade him with various arguments to dispel the fear with which Pautu had inspired him, and he hesitated; not knowing whom to believe, whether me or Pautu. But just then one of Vehiatua's captains came forward and taxed his *arii* roundly with not giving credence to the convincing arguments and fair words I had given him: to which Pautu retorted in a defiant tone, saying that he wanted no truck with us nor that his *arii* should go on board. [Finally] Vehiatua being won over more by Pautu's arguments than by mine, desired me to go on board and get his Honour Don Thomas to come, unarmed, with Don Diego Machao, myself, and Maititi, to where he then was, and that then he would believe me and come on board.

I therefore went back to the frigate and told this to the Comandante, who gave directions for Don Thomas to go in the boat with Don Diego Machao, and myself, to talk things over with him. It was thought well that I should tranship into a canoe with a cuddy that was coming, because Taitoa warned us that, on seeing the boat, Vehiatua might make off. I went ahead in the said canoe, but the boat was run into a bay all the same, and pending my arrival at the place where Vehiatua was some natives were despatched by land to carry the good news to him,

having received which he directed one of his men to tell his Honour Don Thomas that he might come on with the boat to where he was waiting. Vehiatua received me with a pretty large following of his people, some of whom were carrying spears in their hands; but he ordered these to be laid aside when, in a little while, the boat arrived, and the party was welcomed and everybody seemed very happy, Vehiatua saying that he would come along on the following day. He presented a pig and some coconuts in token of reconciliation; but, observing that neither Otù nor his family were there, enquiry was made for them and we were told that Pautu, on seeing the boat coming, had grasped Otù by the hand and hurried him away. Thinking he might not be far distant, Señor Don Thomas directed some [messengers] to go out in his wake; but as he was nowhere to be found round about there, and it was getting late, the word was passed to start back for the frigate: Vehiatua observing to Don Thomas that I must sleep in the mission house and that, as it would be very lonely, Taitoa should accompany me.

We reached the frigate, where his Honour the Comandante was duly informed of everything that had occurred. He directed me to go ashore to sleep, and withdrew the soldiers that were there. I passed the night without adventure.

29*th* day:—In the morning they brought a great lot of thatch, ready plaited, for roofing. In the afternoon of the same day Vehiatua arrived with Otù's mother and her son Hinoy, which was a great joy for everyone. A good bit of the house was roofed over to-day; the soldiers retired at sunset, and I remained alone and passed the night without incident.

30*th* day:—In the morning a lot of people came, by Vehiatua's order, to go on with the roof; and at ten in the forenoon he got me to accompany him with Bayere

and Hinoy in order to assure a reconciliation and renewal of friendship with the Comandante, by whom they were warmly welcomed. They then said they wished to go off to an entertainment they had to give at *Oayautea* to some natives of *Orayatea* who had come to the island on a jaunt and were then in that district.

I learned to-day that Pautu had now cast off his clothing and was wearing only a breech-clout. The work of roofing over the house was finished and the guard was withdrawn at sunset. I passed the night without incident.

31*st* day:—I opened the portable house at dawn and found it full of rats, of which I succeeded in killing seventy-five, over and above those that escaped. The[1] were landed to-day, and the *Padres* came at the same time to take possession; and they slept in the house that night.

MONTH OF JANUARY: 1775

On the 1*st* day of this month, at 8 o'clock in the forenoon, the launch came in with all the marines in uniform, who then formed up on the beach. A little while afterwards the Cross arrived in the boat, with all their Honours the Officers, and the *Padres* sallied forth to receive it at the landing-place; and as soon as the procession had been formed they began to intone the Litany of the Saints, and the marines fired off the first volley. When they reached the spot where the Cross was to be erected, and at the moment of setting it up, they fired off the second volley[2]. After that the first mass was said, Señor Don Raimundo Bonacorsi assisting in it, and when that was done *Salve Regina!* was intoned, after which the marines

[1] There is a blank at this point in the MS., but the sense is supplied by Gayangos' Journal of even date, *viz.* "stock of provisions, utensils and furniture, for the missionary *Padres*" (vol. II, 152).

[2] This was the celebrated cross which Captain Cook removed in August, 1777, and replaced after causing a British inscription to be graven upon it in confutation of the Spaniards' claim to priority. See vol. II, 474–83: and 27*th* Dec. hereof.

fired the third volley and the Frigate responded with a salute of 21 guns. Just then Opo, the mother of Vehiatua, arrived with her husband Titorea, having come from the mourning function mentioned before[1].

2nd day of d°:—Work was begun on the fence round the house. At night two Indians were discovered hiding under the main channels [of the frigate], who, as soon as they were found out, sprang into the water, but notwithstanding their being such good swimmers they were caught, and given the breech. The night passed without incident.

3rd day:—His Honour the Comandante had me called on board in order to send me to the district of *Oayautea* to get a nanny-goat, if there should be one in milk; for which a canoe was put at my disposal, with two natives of the island. I started this same day, taking another goat with me to be left in place of the one I was to bring. I slept that night at *Tayarapu*, where I met all the canoes belonging to the *arii* and their families, who were preparing to return to *Ohatutira* on the morrow; and Otù took me in to share his cuddy, where I passed the night without incident.

4th day of d°:—I set out very early and arrived by midday at *Oayautea*, where I was made welcome, and after being presented with some fish for the canoemen's dinner, I told him what I had come for, and he answered that they had no nanny there recently in the straw, but that the one he had was in kid: he gave her over to me that the Comandante might satisfy himself that was so, and I left him the one I had brought. I returned that night to *Tayarapu* to sleep in the head man Teieie's house, where I was made welcome.

5th day:—I left *Tayarapu* in the morning for *Ohatutira*, where I arrived before noon: I delivered the nanny-goat to the Señor Comandante, and after reporting to him all that had occurred I withdrew to the shore.

[1] They had been to a funeral at Papara. *Cf.* Dec. *17th*.

In the afternoon their Honours the Officers landed, and after calling the Chiefs together—excepting Otù, who did not come, through being somewhat indisposed—the articles of agreement were drawn up inside the house and I was directed to explain to them the terms of the Instructions, in the name of our Sovereign. To this they agreed with much pleasure, and proclaimed the King of Spain *arii* over all the island. Afterwards we stepped over to where Otù was. and the same representation was put before him, who replied to the same effect; and appointed two natives for the *Padres'* service[1].

6th day:—A batch of canoes arrived in the morning from the island called by the natives *Teturoa*, in the dominions of Otù, bringing provisions.

On this day the frigate fired the first gun preparatory to weighing.

A print of our Monarch was fixed on the front of the [mission] house. This was done at the pressing request of the Indians, inspired by what Otù had told them after having seen it himself.

In the afternoon the frigate fired the second gun as a signal of being about to sail.

7th day:—The frigate and the storeship sailed for *Orayatea*, and the launch stayed to pick up a kedge-anchor the frigate had slipped; but being in very deep water and having a strong grip, the launch's crew were not able to lift it, and therefore Vehiatua went out with his canoes and a lot of people to bear a hand, until the boat arrived and gave them a tow to help it break ground.

8th day:—The *Padres* distributed six axes in the King's name; and Titorea, observing the excessive discomfort we were put to by the masses of people who crowded about us, undertook to have the whole house fenced round with bamboos, which he fulfilled.

[1] Thus came about the Convention of Hatutira (for what it was worth), the text of which is printed in vol. II at pp. 467–8, and translated into English at pp. 157–8.

9*th* day:—A great many people arrived from the other districts to take part in the festivities that were to celebrate the visit of the strangers from *Orayatea*.

10*th* day:—Pautu turned up to-day, by the same token, and I came across him near Otù's house with only a breech-clout on. He greeted me on his knees and in tears; and seeing him in such sorry plight I received him with open arms; and on my asking him whether he felt better off clothed like that or as he used to be, he confessed he had been in the wrong. I told him he should go and see the *Padres*, and he did so; and those most reverend [Fathers] welcomed him and wept over him. They asked him whether he would put on clothes, and he answered that he would. But he rose to go without having done so[1].....or dancing, and did not return that day.

11*th* day:—Pautu came back, with the *arii* Vehiatua, that his chest and clothing might be delivered to him, the which he gave over to the said *arii* as soon as he received them, after the *Padres* had looked through and examined it carefully for everything that pertained to a Christian, lest God should be profaned in his own image; but Vehiatua left the said chest to be taken care of [for him] by the *Padres*.

12*th* day:—Some women decked in quantities of native cloth presented themselves before the Chiefs in order to strip themselves and make an offering of the cloth to the said Chiefs, being left with only a *maro* on to cover their nakedness[2]. They call this festival a *taurua*, and after it they prepare for a *paraparau*, which is like a *tertulia* or well ordered conversazione of which the main topic is the wars these natives engage in against those of *Morea*. The

[1] A blank occurs here in the MS. No doubt Pautu went to look on at the *heiva* in honour of the visitors from Ra'i-atea.

[2] An ancient custom, noticed by Captain Cook and Sir Joseph Banks. There was no impropriety about it. In Fiji it is still followed, but by men.

Chiefs called to me to know whether perchance I would assist them against the *Morea* people, if occasion should arise; and when I replied that I could not do so without superior orders, they seemed surprised.

13*th* day:—Otù's family brought some tit-bits of their provender, and I made response with some trifles that I had in my hut. In the afternoon, to-day, I had an argument with Vehiatua, arising out of the lies that Pautu had related to him, saying that we had kept back the fire-arms he brought and which he had stated were his. So I made him come forward and showed him up as an impostor; and even his own people ranged themselves against him.

14*th* day:—A great multitude of canoes arrived from *Opare*, one of Otù's districts, laden with eatables for that *arii* and Vehiatua. He called to me to go down to the beach and prevent the raid they are accustomed always to make [on such occasions], which I did, and it turned out as he wished and is right it should.

15*th* day:—The canoes in question left; and that night I had a discussion with the Indians on the subject of refraining from lighting any fire on the morrow, for it was a day of *epure* or prayer in the *marae* or cemetery where they said *Teatua*, their Divinity, would be seen. And on my telling them that I *would* light a fire, and *would* go to see him, they answered me that it was necessary to walk with a slow step, wearing only the breech-clout, and without moving one's arms.

16*th* day:—The *epure* was conducted very early in the morning, and I did not see it, through arriving late; but I did succeed in witnessing the festival of the Dance they perform before the *arii* and other Chiefs on such occasions. When I reached the place one of the captains told me I ought to remove my clothing: to which I replied in a similarly serious tone that I would not, and they forbore

further in the matter. Vehiatua and all his followers also told me I must go home and put the fire out, but I would not do that either: and they were nonplussed[1].

17*th* day:—An archery meeting took place, with a Dance, and the way they managed their arrows afforded me great interest, being as follows:—first of all the *tahua* delivers an exhortation to their Divinity, in the course of which he begs that the day may be fraught with success for the bowmen; and while this is going on no fire may be lit in the vicinity, lest, say they, the petition be not granted. For the same reason if anyone should disregard this [prohibition] he would be severely punished and fined, besides being put in fear of the anger of their God. The lower classes do not take part in this [form of] recreation, but only the high Chiefs, and these are obliged to keep their shoulders bared while in the *marae*. At the sound of tom-toms they proceed to discharge their shafts, every shot being accompanied by shouts from the onlookers who are perched in trees to see who shall excel the rest, not only on the one day but throughout the term agreed upon, so that when the tournament is finished the loser may entertain the others with a feast and provide dancing and merrymaking as an acknowledgment of the winner's prowess. The same plan is followed in other competitions, as will be explained at greater length in the *Extracto* put at the end of this Diary[2].

[1] This passage, among others, illustrates the marrow of bigotry and narrow-mindedness that undoubtedly underlay Máximo's otherwise docile and genial exterior, where matters of religion were concerned. But one must remember that he lived a century and a half ago, and was taught in South America, by "frailes" of the period.

[2] *Cf.* Andía y Varela's account of this function, of which he, too, was an eye-witness (vol. II, 268–9). Though both writers mention the *tabu* against fires, and the fact that only Chiefs took part in the tournament, neither one seems to have recognised the religious character that Ellis and Moerenhout ascribe to these archery contests; the Spaniards regarded them merely as sport or recreation. M. de Bovis has not alluded to them, which is unfortunate. As to the fate of Máximo's *Extracto*, see page 8, *note* 1.

18*th* day:—I started for *Irimiro*, a place where one of our bulls then was, as it was doing a lot of damage and making everybody scared. I succeeded in getting him, and had a good deal of fun, for the bull on being approached, charged many an one so that at last they got irritated; and so many of them set upon him, while he was disputing with others, that we were able to entangle him with ropes and tie his hind and fore feet together and sling him on a pole to carry him by and keep him secure until the morrow; as was done. Later on Vehiatua arrived with his following, and I passed the night there without incident.

19*th* day:—While at this place *Irimiro* I got sight of the frigate coming from her exploration of the "Ysla de Parayso" alias *Orayatea*, which is distant from here 80 leagues, a little more or less; and I went out towards her in a double canoe, with paddles; but, finding there was a strong head sea against which we were making no headway, and also that it was late, I deemed it prudent to put back to the same place [whence we had come out]; where I found 99 bundles of reeds intended for use in [fencing] our kitchen-garden.

We brought the bull along, tied by the horns and one foot, to check him whenever he should rush at anybody, as far as *Atinua*, at which place the boy Manuel Tetuanui's father and mother live: and passed the night without incident, after receiving some presents from the people there.

20*th* day:—I set out for *Ohatutira* in the morning, with the bull, and was acclaimed by the head men and other Indians I met with all along the journey. By mid-day I arrived at our hospice, with the bull, and the frigate came into harbour in the afternoon. We then learned that the Comandante's last moments of life were at hand.

21*st* day:—At 3 in the morning the *Irimiro* people came with the 99 bundles of cut reeds, and busied themselves fencing in our garden until noon, when they finished:

each of the two head men who came with them was given a strip of baize and a small knife.

22*nd* day:—Another strip and a small knife were given to each of the two head men who had cut the said reeds.

23*rd* day:—Nothing particular happened, to make a note of, save that we were momentarily expecting the death of his Honour the Comandante, in view of which the missionary *Padres* went to commend his soul [to God].

24*th* day:—I had an argument with the father of Maititi against the boy rendering tribute to Vehiatua by handing over to him what little clothing he possessed; for he found it very acceptable to his *arii*—by which token Maititi seems to me to be just such another apostate as Pautu.

25*th* day:—The morning broke clear, with the wind fresh, from S.; and the bull was exchanged with us for a cow belonging to Don Thomas Gayangos, all those that the storeship *Júpiter* brought having died during the voyage[1]. In the afternoon one of the missionary *Padres* went on board the frigate to watch by the Comandante, for the death agony was upon him; and the night passed with some commotion among the natives because they were aware of this.

26*th* day:—In the morning the natives had a dancing entertainment, and Vehiatua afterwards went off with the *arii* Otù and some of their followers to the part called *Oyari*, which is on the opposite side of the island, to condole with an uncle of the latter *arii*, named Opeti, about his illness; and although we suspected that they were making themselves scarce through fear of our people we felt little concern about that, because they saw we were on the point of sailing.

This afternoon our venerated Comandante yielded up his soul into the hands of the Creator, and all the marks of grief becoming to the occasion were displayed.

[1] Andía gives a list of cattle he landed alive: vol. II, 298–9.

27th day:—The morning broke showery, but as soon as it cleared up the marines landed in uniform, with all due formality, and the body of the said Comandante was brought ashore in the *falua*[1] accompanied by their Honours the officers one and all; and the funeral ceremony took place as best we could, the marines letting off a volley and the frigate firing minute guns, by which the natives were awe-struck, while they watched attentively our mode of burial with his uniform, baton, and sword. The interment took place in front of our mission house at the foot of the palm that killed the seaman, as has already been related, and which formed the pedestal for the Cross whereby the island was plighted to our Sovereign and upon which pedestal his [the Comandante's] epitaph was now placed.

This being concluded the marines re-embarked, and the [crews of the] frigate and storeship turned to and hove short, in readiness to proceed to sea on the morrow. The night passed with fine weather; and the natives were amain sorrowful on hearing the chanties sung by our men as they went to work to hoist the sails.

28th day:—I went off to the frigate at a very early hour and was met by an order from his Honour Don Thomas Gayangos (who was now in chief command) to enquire for two seamen who had been missing from over night; but, with the help of the natives, we discovered them and took them on board. She then weighed and proceeded to sea, together with the storeship, and I lent a hand with the launch and canoes to recover the kedge from whose cablet the frigate had cast off. The natives continued pretty woebegone at losing their friends, and so in sooth were we, in our solitude, with no other refuge than God: but the night passed without incident.

29th day:—Our ships were still in sight, for they lay becalmed. I set out with Taitoa for the district of *Guayari*,

[1] A "falua" is a small craft rigged with a lateen sail; in this case probably the captain's galley, if the frigate carried one.

counting upon getting back the same day; but this did not come about, for on reaching the district of[1] I landed because Taitoa said it was necessary to proceed on foot, which I accordingly did, accompanied by the head man Tetuamaneia and his crew, until we reached a lagoon where he made me embark again, saying there were people lurking near the overland track who would steal the clothes off my back. When I told him I had no fear whatever, he said they might kill me and bury me away out of sight, for it is all a dense wild of forest. This track is named Taravao[2]: the land there is good for settlement and for crops, for beyond the narrow part of the pass the hills fall back on either hand [and there are] good water holes. There is a fair amount of heavy timber, tall and solid, excepting *euros*. It is only thinly peopled, because the natives declare that they constantly see the *Tupapau* or Evil One there. There are some groves of plantains, and plantations of the saplings they call *aute*, for making their cloth from.

In the afternoon I arrived where Vehiatua was staying, after crossing by means of a canoe a broad lagoon that stretches in from the opposite side of the island, and which, if it had depth enough, would make a good harbour; but it is everywhere full of shoals[3].

Vehiatua welcomed me gladly enough, but so dense a crowd thronged round me that they put me to some annoyance. The said *arii* got me to tell him about the ceremonial of his Honour the Comandante's funeral, and when I had related it all at length he held a debate with his followers in which he justified burial of the dead as a better practice than exposure under a shed, which is their

[1] The name is blank in the MS., but the district referred to was obviously Afaahiti.

[2] The neck of low land called Taravao is the isthmus which connects the two mountain masses of Tahiti-nui and Taiarapu. The track is less than two miles in length, from shore to shore.

[3] This lagoon is now known to Europeans as "Port Phaëton," and schemes for its adaptation as a naval dépôt have been put forward, though perhaps without enough justification.

custom, since they have to put up with the intense stench given off (for they usually place them near their dwelling-houses): not to mention the flies, which, after feeding on the corpses, pass on to eat of the people's victuals.

I went forward to where the *arii* Otù was being entertained and he received me with great satisfaction, and got me to go with him to visit a sick person, a great-uncle of his, who was very ill. On coming to the house I found the invalid stretched on the ground, covered with a wrap from the waist downwards and being fanned with sprigs of the ginger plant. When I told them to desist they replied that it was necessary to keep on fanning, in order that their Deity, whom they call *Teatua*, should descend—for they say that he comes down in a whirlwind. Nevertheless I made them quit their error, in some fashion, and told them they ought not to believe such a thing, and that in proof thereof they should let me do what I wished, and they would find that he would get better. For his illness was nothing more than a chill which had occasioned a sore throat, and, while the shelterless situation of the house and the continual movement of air they were setting up allowed him no chance to perspire properly, it kept him in a cold sweat all the time. They assented to this and asked me to take his treatment in hand, so, telling them they must convey him to *Ohatutira*, where our dwelling house is, they all agreed to do so.

I returned to Vehiatua's house amidst a great concourse of natives, and passed an uncomfortable night there owing to Vehiatua and his courtiers carousing over the *ava* drink already mentioned.

30*th* day:—Vehiatua told me that he would not be able to come to *Ohatutira* just yet, as he had to collect some hogs and *euros* his people were expected to contribute for him. I therefore begged him to give me a canoe to go in and see *Guayuru*[1] district and *Mataoae*, with which he

[1] Guayuru must not be confused with Guayurua, as spelt by the diarist. See *note* 1 on page 15.

gladly complied; and he instructed the crew of the canoe to continue on as far as the district of *Oayautea* and fetch him some of the plant they besot themselves with[1], and to pick me up on their way back and come and sleep at *Guayari*, which was where he then was. I disembarked somewhat before reaching *Guayuru* and all the natives who were about came out to greet me as I passed among their houses, bearing [presents of] cloth, hogs, plantains, and coconuts. I demurred to accept these, but this disappointed them so much that I was obliged to gather up their gifts. When I got to the house of the *arii* called Tuivirau he presented me with what he had, and, in order not to offer him any slight, I said I would take one piece of cloth from him, to which he assented. He made me sit down and asked me to relate to him what was going on in our countries, and after giving him all the news I could think of, I had to get on my way, for the throng of people pressed about me so that I had nigh been smothered[2]. I enquired for the parents of the deceased Francisco[3], but no one gave me any clue to them.

From thence I went on by land to the district of *Mataoae*, the people who had come out to greet me when I first landed never leaving me; and, being well received, they led me towards the house of the *arii* Tutea, who is Vehiatua's uncle. On my approaching the house the inmates came forward to welcome me, and[4]...[stripping] the clothing they wore [from off their shoulders] presented[5]

[1] Namely *ava*—(*Piper methysticum*, Forst.).

[2] *Cf.* Capt. Cook's journal of the *Endeavour's* voyage [Bibl. no. 30, p. 70]: "We gladly would have gone too, being almost Suffocated with the Crowd that was about us."

[3] Meaning Heiao, the lad who died at Valparaiso, and was called by the Spaniards Francisco Boenechea.

[4] There is a blank here again, in the MS. The sense is clear however, and is supplied by inserting the words printed within brackets.

[5] The MS. here reads "preguntando," evidently a mistake for *presentando*. Errors of this class occur because the copyist wrote not at sight but from dictation; and was thinking, as often as not, more about his cigarette than about the sense of the narrative.

a plantain shoot at my feet, saying that I was their *arii*. On my disclaiming the title of *arii*, and declaring myself merely the friend of them all, they took it amiss. The crowd was so great that I thought I would like to see how many there were of them, as nearly as might be; so I desired the people to arrange themselves on a piece of open ground, and they did accordingly, with much merriment. I made them out to number rather more than two thousand souls. Meanwhile, the *arii* Tutea, who is the Chief of this district, ordered a *heyba* or Dance to be got up for me and presently nine women and two men stepped forward and engaged in it. It is a custom among them to disrobe at the finish of the Dance and throw all their drapery into a heap, which acquires the shape of a pyramid, and is called by them *e vihi*; this they present to the person in whose honour the Dance is given[1]. But now that they did so for me I declined its acceptance, telling them they were but poor people and had nothing but that stuff to cover their nakedness with, whereas I had clothing enough and to spare. At this they began to discourse among themselves about my generosity, as well as that of our people while the frigate had lain at her moorings, and they showed each other some presents given them by us.

At sunset I retired inside the said *arii's* house; and when the canoe, that was now coming back from *Ayautea* to convey me to Vehiatua, arrived I told the men I would stay where I was until the morning, because I was tired and had a head-ache. At this they became uneasy and were loth to leave me behind. However, I begged from them a little of the *ava* shrub of which they drink: I begged it in my own name, for they set great store by it, and I gave it to the *arii* here, as he had none in all his district And he was very pleased with it.

I passed the night without incident, after having been

[1] See *note* 2 on page 43.

given some fresh fish and sea-eggs[1] for my supper, which I enjoyed much, for I was famished, as also were four servants of Vehiatua who had come with me.

The land hereabouts is good for settlement and also for cultivation, so that plenty of good things and a numerous population are to be seen; but there is no harbour.

31*st* day:—I started in the morning by land for the district of *Guayuru*, intending to get a canoe there to proceed in to *Guayari*; when I got there the *arii* Tuivirau placed his canoe at my disposal and came himself with my party. On the way some heavy showers of rain fell which soaked my clothes for me, and when I reached the place at which Vehiatua was staying I had to wrap myself in native cloth, while they were drying, for it never left off raining all that day, so that the journey was unavoidably delayed until the morrow. I gave away the bundles of cloth I had received, to the people belonging to the two principal *arii*, as they asked for it with great insistence; and the night passed without incident.

MONTH OF FEBRUARY

On the 1*st* day of this month I set out in the morning with the two principal *arii*, the invalid, and all his family, for the harbour of *Ohatutira*. A well-built double canoe [fitted] with a cuddy was pointed out to me which may have measured some seven *varas* in length, and had many ornamental mouldings about her such as they carve according to their fancy. Vehiatua also showed me a concave stool[2] carved out of black stone and very highly polished, its form the same as those they make of wood;

[1] Certain varieties of *echinus* furnish an entremet which many Polynesians esteem a delicacy; though distinctly unappetizing to Europeans.

[2] One wonders what may have become of this remarkable chattel, since Máximo's time. He tried to obtain it but was unsuccessful, as will appear at a later page. It would have been an admirable companion for the stone bowl he acquired, as related farther on, which is still uninjured and well cared for in Madrid. *Cf.* June 14*th*, and the Plate of a *wooden* seat: vol. 1, p. 336.

and he told me it had been brought from *Orayatea*, where, it seems, they keep the best they have for war time.

After we had crossed the lagoon that I spoke of before, I disembarked with the Chiefs to follow the track across *Taravao* by land; and, as the canoes were brought overland for something like half a league, the sick *arii* came along inside his cuddy since he was not able to walk. They make use of skids for this job, both that the canoes may run the more easily and to save them from damage, although the track is a good one.

We reached the sea-side at mid-day, and after making a halt for them to eat a meal, we went on in the afternoon as far as the district of *Faayti*[1], where Tabiari holds the command. This Chief welcomed us with such hospitality as he could offer; and we passed the night there, experiencing some squalls and heavy downpours which made it impossible to proceed.

2nd day of d°:—We did not travel [early], so that Vehiatua might gather up some hogs they wanted to contribute; and this being done by mid-day we started for *Ohatutira*, where we arrived in the afternoon; and having come along, myself, with the *arii* Otù I observed that his father approached with the *tahua*, or "priest" as we say, to receive him as soon as we disembarked. Otù thereupon seated himself, with his brother, for the ceremonies it is their wont to perform with a plantain shoot, which they lay before him, as well as a bunch of yellow feathers fixed on to a short stick, and at his feet a hog.

The *tahua* then delivers a long oration to *Teatua*, who is their Divinity, in which, he explains, he gives thanks to their God for his *arii's* safe arrival, without having been subjected to a capsize of the canoe or exposed to such a peril as being devoured by a shark; he also offers thanks to another *Eatua*, who is God of the sea; and the hog remains for the *arii* alone as an earnest of the gladness

[1] *i.e.* Afaahiti.

his people have felt at seeing him again. This over, his father came up and embraced him with many expressions of affection, and from thence he crossed over to where his mother was standing and she greeted him in similar fashion[1].

It is to be noted that they wanted to include me too in the above ceremonies, and on my saying that I could not share in them they seemed puzzled, and asked me whether it were not our custom to act in the same way; to which I made answer that in whatever we did we gave thanks to our God, without those sacrificial offerings, and that we acknowledge no more than one God, and not a number as they do: and this set them a-thinking.

I then passed on to the [mission] house; and, expecting to meet with a welcome from the *Padres*, I went forward to greet them. But, on the contrary, they asked me why I had loitered; and when I told them all that had occurred through my having no canoe of my own to come in, they answered that I could have come along by land if I had wished. To this I replied that I had not set out for a mere pleasure stroll, but that I went solely with the object of bringing in the Chiefs, so that they should give orders for the fencing in of our kitchen-garden to be completed, since the *Padres* could see that without the *arii's* presence nothing got done. Then they told me that they had heard from an Indian that I had partaken of some of the drink the natives make use of; and furthermore, that when passing through the *Tayarapu* district I had spent the night with a girl—which charge I proved to them was null and void inasmuch as I came by way of the neck of land that divides the territories of Otù and Vehiatua, and came in their company. Nevertheless, to satisfy them, I waited for those *arii* who, when they arrived, bore positive witness to the contrary: howbeit, the *Padres* answered

[1] Quite a good account of a very graceful little function. Who can say that the Tahitians of old were not a well-bred and religious people!

that they must draw their own conclusions. But I omit some of their taunts, in order that I may not be vexatious.

The night passed with the wind from N.W., which the natives call *toerau*, and there were some squalls and heavy showers.

3rd day:—Day dawned with the same wind blowing from N.W., causing a pretty big breaking sea in the harbour. We melted down our candles, as they were unserviceable, and moulded them anew.

The family of the *arii* Otù came to our mission house, but were not made welcome; for we did not like to have any truck with these natives, fearing lest perhaps they should kill us[1].

The night passed with the wind in the same quarter: the horizon very thick all round, and rain.

4th day:—It dawned with the wind the same, though not so fresh. A hog, that Vehiatua had given us with some baskets of plantains at the time he came back from his journey as related above, was slaughtered. We had a bother with the natives of this district to-day, whom we had seen chasing our pigs; and when we asked them the reason, it was that the animals were causing a lot of damage by getting into the natives' huts and rooting about for the provisions that they preserve underground[2]. Notwithstanding this, one of my party so lost patience that he went out into the pathway and began to throw stones at them, and when they took refuge in some huts the occupants were compelled to rush out helter-skelter, not only the fugitives aforesaid but also the others who

[1] This remark seems to bear upon some circumstance that is not made manifest. There was certainly no love lost between Tu and the *Padres*, but the Chief's attitude towards Máximo was one of particular friendship at all times. Is the writer aiming a shaft of irony at his timid clerics?

[2] They have a way of preserving bread-fruit by fermentation in the absence of air. With this object they bury the mass (*mahi*) underground; but a foetid and penetrating odour is developed, of which enough reaches the surface to guide a pig to the quarry.

were in ignorance of what was happening. Some of the latter were grabbed hold of as they lay asleep, and their garments being very light the impetuosity of the person referred to[1] obliged many of them to escape in their bare skins, including several women who chanced to be napping because the day was inclement.

This affair over, I went across with the person in question to Vehiatua's house, and was made to tell the Chief that we wished to move to some other locality, since the people who had their habitations round about us had no consideration or regard for those animals of ours. I returned with the aforesaid to our mission house, and in a little while came Vehiatua with his mother, step-father, and sundry of his head men, bringing a plantain shoot in token of peace and submission, and saying, with a good deal of weeping, that they felt very hurt by our anger, which had made them afraid, and that therefore they were going away to another district; but that they presented this plantain shoot as a token of their goodwill towards us and begged that, when our ship should return, we would not say of them that they had been ill disposed against us. And when this had been duly explained to the *Padres* Vehiatua was enjoined not to let us be given cause for annoyance [in future] by their clatter round about our dwelling, and to order them to evacuate the adjoining huts, so that we might enjoy a profound silence: which being settled, all the trouble calmed down.

The *arii* then withdrew with his following, and towards mid-day he sent one of his men to ask me to go and see him, saying he had a sudden attack of illness; so, with the *Padres'* approval, I went to see what it might be. I found him stretched on the ground, his head supported in his mother's lap, and she, with some other women who were about her, in tears. There was a *tahua* near his head, with his two plantain shoots, offering up a prayer to *Teatua*, his God, for the Chief's recovery. He also had an

[1] *Padre* Narciso.

attendant on each side of him fanning him very assiduously with sprigs of *euros*. Telling them to desist from that, lest it should do him harm, because it gave him no chance to sweat, they answered me that this was the practice in their island, in order that their God should descend the sooner and bring relief to the invalid, and that it was their bounden duty to have recourse to it. I nevertheless took matters in hand and called for one of their canoe cuddies to be brought, and, placing it inside the house, I had it covered in with their cloth wraps and got a bed made up for him and I also directed that the house itself be closed in with plaited palm-leaves. Then, taking Vehiatua in my arms, I passed him into the cuddy, with his step-father; and after covering him well up I retired to my house, telling the aforesaid [step-father] not to let them disturb him on any account. They abode by this, and towards evening he improved; at which they became very pleased, saying that their God was of but little account, since he had done the Chief no good, but that our God was greater. They gave us some 50 fresh scad.

This same evening *Padre* Geronimo asked me to go out with him, saying he wished me to go for a stroll with him; and we returned at vespers, at which time we saw that the natives were in their cemeteries[1] beating their tom-toms, whilst others were going about yelling, for their God *Teatua* to descend.

We passed the whole day amidst heavy rain and squalls from the N.W., to which wind the natives apply the name *toherau*. The tom-tomming went on in the *marae* all night, with prayer-offerings to their God.

5*th* day of d°:—Sunday. Mass was said very early, and Manuel afterwards set out for his home, by permission of

[1] Máximo now and again uses the word "cementerio" to signify a *marae*. But they are not synonymous. *Marae* is a term of much wider meaning; it has been best explained by the late M. de Bovis, whose description, printed in this volume as a *SUPPLEMENTARY PAPER*, is commended to the attention of every interested reader.

the *Padres* for 7 days, to see his mother who was ill. Vehiatua sent us a present of a basket of fresh fish; and in the afternoon all Otù's family were in the mission house, saying they were going off at the end of two days to their own lands, and that they had therefore come to take leave of us. The *arii* Otù requested that a male and a female might be given to him out of the progeny of our pigs, but was met by a refusal—at which he seemed somewhat hurt, for he remarked that some of the issue of our stock had been given to Titorea and Taitoa[1].

The sky and the weather cleared up, and we passed the night without incident.

6th day:—During the morning I put in order the two *esmeriles*[2] and the swords, which were in a bad state; and by the evening we had 198 candles re-moulded. They gave us a small quantity of fish that looked like conger. Vehiatua relapsed again and it was recognised to be the effect of the beverage *ava* that they are in the habit of drinking.

We had sunshine, and the wind from S.E. that they call *mahoae*: the night passed without incident.

7th day:—The people from up the gorge came in the morning to fence in with bamboos what remained to be done of the kitchen-garden; but they had not bamboos enough, so they said they would finish it next day. They were short of material for only 20 *varas*, or rather less—to be exact—before completing it all round. So much to mid-day. Then, one of the *Padres* suggested to me that it was necessary I should take turns in the kitchen, week and week about with the man who had been given us, saying that they required him for the garden. I replied to them

[1] Here was another mark of the tactlessness and ingratitude of these two *Padres*, than whom it is difficult to imagine any persons less fitted for gaining the hearts and respect of Polynesian natives.

[2] An "esmeril" was a small cannon, usually of bronze or brass, and slightly heavier than a falconet. It threw a ball weighing ten ounces.

that I would not enter upon...[1] [turn messman?]: but that I was willing to help in everything, because we were all one party together, and therefore I felt committed to whatever might crop up, and I told them further that I had writing and other things to attend to as occasion offered. But they said they bore no instructions with them to that effect: that I came assigned to whatever jobs they might direct, and that as to writing, they themselves were sufficient thereunto. And then they began to sneer at me, observing that they wondered how it was that I, being in some sort educated, had not been given any promotion, whence [they argued] it was clear I had been guilty of bad conduct; and alleging other things that I forbear to quote.

Towards evening *Padre* Geronimo asked me to go out with him for a stroll round the premises, and also across to Vehiatua, who was still ill; and we did so until sunset. After that, Vehiatua had me called to come and feel his pulse and tell him how he was getting on. When I said he must remain screened in as he had been on the previous day he told me he could not stay like that any longer, and that his God *Eatua* had wrought him some injury in the head: and this was the cause of *Padre* Geronimo having met one of the *tahuas* going about yelling, as far as the skirt of the hills, striving to get his God to descend and give the *arii* relief from the pain he was suffering.

They gave us plantains; and we had the wind from the N.W. all day; except that sometimes it shifted to N., fresh, but without rain although the hills were clouded over. The night passed without incident of any kind.

8th day:—A part of the ground round the house was cleared up during the forenoon, as it had been much littered with rubbish; and after that, Vehiatua and Taitoa came in to dinner with us. In the afternoon a bed

[1] The word "...ranzel," in the MS. seems mutilated. Perhaps something such as *ranchero* or *rancheria* was meant, for mess caterer or steward's duties.

of parsley and purslane was planted; and the lettuce and broccoli seedlings were seen to be fit for transplanting. About sunset there came Hinoy, brother of the *arii* Otù, who presented us with two good-sized lobsters; and when he was asked what he would like for them, he took it amiss, saying he was not dealing for barter, and that it was simply a friendship's offering. *Padre* Geronimo gave him a couple of biscuits, however, as they are things the natives are very fond of; but he would not accept them, saying that he had his own victuals, and we had nothing but that to eat. After supper Vehiatua suffered a very severe paroxysm, so that he sent one of his henchmen over for us to go and see whether it were possible to afford him relief. On setting out with *Padre* Geronimo we heard a great bustle among the people, some of whom were chasing pigs in order to catch one for an offering to their God *Teatua*, and others weeping with the Chief's mother. We passed into the house through a crowd of natives sitting around it, and many others inside as well; and we found Vehiatua seated in the lap of one, while others were kneading and rubbing his legs—which is their remedy[1]—and fanned him with sprigs of *euros*. On taking hold of his pulse it was found to be very feeble and almost at a standstill. We went back to the mission house to fetch some drugs, and an ounce of oil of almonds was brought (for he would not consent to the use of the clyster) and he swallowed it with two draughts of warm water. In a little while he began to throw off some lumps of thick phlegm, from which we concluded that his stomach must be very corrupt; and thus he remained, with smart fever. We then retired to sleep, leaving word with them to call us if anything fresh should occur. The Gospel of St John was devoted to his cause[2].

[1] *Rumi* or *rumirumi*—massage, at which Polynesians are very expert.

[2] The drift of this remark does not seem very clear. But several passages more or less appropriate to the circumstances occur in chapters I–V, XI, and XV.

A little later on one of the natives came and begged for a candle, saying that the one we had left there had burnt out; but nothing further happened during the night.

The wind hung in the N.W. all day and through the night, being what they call *toherau*: there was but little rain, as there had been sunshine throughout most of the day.

9*th* day:—In the morning I went across by myself to see how Vchiatua was getting on. I found that he had quitted the canoe-cuddy within which we had left him well screened [overnight], and was now in the open air, without any shelter at all. A lot of his people stood around, and some plantain shoots were disposed in front of him. Several hogs, lashed up, lay at his feet. I told him that what I beheld appeared to me very ill advised, and that, since he did not do what we desired for his amendment we could no longer attend to his ailments. Matters continued, nevertheless, as they were, and I withdrew, leaving him somewhat better of his calenture; and the *tahua*, observing his improvement also, took away the sacrificial offering of hogs.

In the afternoon I went out with *Padre* Geronimo to explore the interior of the gorge and have a look at the country, and to see, at the same time, whether there was any soil good for making clay walls; but we could not carry out our investigation, because of the continual showers that fell in the gorge. A portion of the garden was fenced, no more than 3 *varas* being still wanting to complete it. We gave some glass beads to the people who had come to carry us pick-a-back across the river when we went into the gorge, and they were pleased. We got back to our mission house at sundown; and passed the night with the wind at N.W., with showers, and an ocean swell.

10*th* day:—Day broke with a breeze from S.W. A portion of the kitchen-garden was cleared, and the weeds in it were pulled up. We sowed a bed of broccoli, endive,

lettuces, water-melons, and other things. They gave us 5 lobsters, and the *arii* Otù's brother named Hinoy dined with us.

The fence round our kitchen-garden was completed in the afternoon. I cleaned two fowling-pieces, as they were rusting.

The day passed with showers, as a consequence of which a rambling old shed that stood near-by fell completely down. We passed the night with the wind from N.W., fresh and squally; and there were downpours of rain.

11*th*:—Day broke with light airs from S.W. A large patch of the garden ground was cleared up by a fairly numerous party of natives who undertook it, and at mid-day they were rewarded with some small fish-hooks and clouded glass beads, which contented them.

In the afternoon the same job was resumed, notwithstanding that the *Padres* were having their siesta; but, hearing that the *arii* Otù and his two brothers had jumped over the fence, which I—not wishing to disturb the said *Padres*, and knowing that the outer gate was locked—allowed them to do, with the object of speeding them away, their Reverences fell out with me in such sort that I was presently sorry enough I had let the Chiefs go at all.

However—the swamp that the natives had dug at some former time for containing certain roots that require to be constantly in water[1] got patched up after a fashion; and we had the wind from S.W. all day, with showers, and the same at night, but without rain.

12*th* day:—Mass was said early and I began to do the cooking, week by week alternately with the sailor, as a punishment or correction that the *Padres* imposed on me for having allowed the *arii* Otù to jump over our fence the day before, as I have already stated. The truth was

[1] These will have been "roots" of *taro* (*Colocasia antiquorum*, Schott), or the commoner (but coarser) aroid, much cultivated at Tahiti, called *ape* (*Alocasia macrorhiza*, Schott).

that the deceased Comandante, in consultation with their Honours the officers under his command, decided that it would be proper to leave with us an adult seaman of quiet behaviour, for the sole purpose of attending to our cooking, for by this means it would be possible for me to devote all my time to securing a particular account [of the island and its people].

They gave us some fish; and in the afternoon I went out with *Padre* Narciso to shoot birds, but none were bagged.

The day passed with the wind at N.E., fresh, with showers, and a rough sea; and the same wind continued all night from N.E., with heavy rain.

13th day:—In the morning Vehiatua set out with Otù and some of their principal people (none except the mother of Vehiatua, and not any of Otù's, being left behind) as they were going to the district of *Oayautea*. After having taken leave of our party the said *arii* Vehiatua sent one of his people to call me apart, and again bid me good-bye; and he signified to those from the neighbouring gorge called *Ataroa*, and his overseer Teruru, that they were to supply us liberally with everything we might stand in need of, both as to provisions and as to persons for our service. He plied me at the same time with many expressions of friendship; and bid me tell the *Padres* that he was very sorry at parting from us, that he was only doing so for change of place, to see if it would benefit his health, and that therefore we must not take his departure amiss. I communicated this to the *Padres*, and desired the said *arii* to give orders to Manuel's parents, when he should pass their place, as the boy had already exceeded his leave; and this he promised to attend to.

Some broccolis were transplanted and we sowed rice, tobacco, purslane, and garlic.

In the afternoon I went out into the gorge with *Padre* Geronimo in quest of the said overseer or *tohoa* named

Teruru, to get him to direct his people to cut enough bamboos, and tree-trunks for stakes, for the purpose of enclosing a good large court-yard; and he promised he would attend to this within the space of two days. We threaded our way back accompanied by a considerable crowd of the inland people who made merry over seeing us, with dancing and sing-songs, and we requited their attentions with some glass beads for ear-drops.

We got back to our mission house at sundown, and the day passed with the wind at S.W., and showers: at night there was a fine moon, and E. wind. They gave us two bunches of plantains.

14*th* day:—Day broke calm. Work was got on with in the garden, building up the seed-beds. I went out at mid-day to visit the few [natives] who had remained behind, this being my recreation time. In the afternoon Manuel arrived, with his father, and we welcomed them gladly; and on *Padre* Geronimo desiring him to give him an account of what had passed, he stated—like Pautu—his wish to come back into our company; but being somewhat sharply reproved for having stayed [so long] at his own home, he began to suspect we wanted to punish him with the lash, and for this reason he slunk away from our presence, and at supper-time made himself scarce altogether. We applied to Vehiatua's mother to order one of her people to go in search of the boy, and disabused her of the idea that it was our intention to thrash him; and as there was bright moonlight they started off, in spite of suspecting that such punishment really was in store.

We retired, and passed the night without incident.

15*th* day:—Morning dawned with the wind from S.E., fresh, and at mid-day Vehiatua's mother came across, while we were at dinner, and gave us some fresh scad, declaring that she esteemed us as sons. The man who had gone out overnight in search of Manuel then appeared, and told us the boy had fled away with his father,

for fear that we would whip him, but on learning the contrary promised to return.

In the evening they brought some 7 bundles of bamboos from the gorge for the work round the court-yard. *Padre* Narciso went out shooting with the seaman, but didn't hit anything; and the night passed without incident.

16*th* day:—Morning broke with showers and wind from the N., blowing fresh: the sea much ruffled. They brought us some bundles of bamboos, and dry fire-wood for cooking with. The same wind and rainy weather continued all day and all through the night.

17*th* day:—Vehiatua's mother came, and urged us to pave the ground round the edge of the portable house to protect it from the damp; but on our wishing to make use, for the steps, of certain trimmed stones that formed part of the *marae* or temple in which the *arii* are sworn in, which place is called *Guayotaha*, the lady refused to allow it, saying she would be in dread of some punishment or other from her Divinity, for such irreverence as to concede anything whatever from the temple in question. We overrode all that, however, without paying any heed to the spectacle of her distress, and so we made good our purpose. As a result of this she directed that we be told that she could no longer visit us at the mission house, since she dared not cross our threshold by stepping on those stones, lest her god or *Teatua* should destroy her. Nevertheless she sent us a little fresh fish, which we had requested from her, telling her it was forbidden to us to eat meat on this day, and explaining what a fast is[1].

Work was continued in the kitchen-garden, transplanting seedlings.

[1] One can understand the *Padres* being so tactless and ungrateful as to act in this manner towards their benefactress; but that Máximo should have passionately shared their sentiments shows how a kindly and sympathetic disposition may be warped by ignorant and bigoted up-bringing such as his had been. The idea of explaining to the natives "what a fast is," is distinctly comic; and helps to prove how hopelessly incapable the *Padres* were.

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VIEW IN MO'OREA



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Padre Narciso was indisposed through flatulence, from which he suffered continually.

They brought us some dry fire-wood, and we recompensed them with a few trifles of corresponding worth. In the afternoon I went out with *Padre* Geronimo to look round the neighbourhood and we came upon some good soil for clay walls, and some water-holes and springs, not very far from our mission house either. We had two short showers to-day and passed the night in calm, without incident.

18*th* day:—The morning dawned with rain, and wind from the S., which the natives term *maraai*. Some work was done in the garden, and some seeds were planted. I went out about mid-day to visit some of the *arii* Otù's dependents, and as they asked me to give them some account of the lands our Sovereign possesses I complied. Next they brought up the subject of the English commander whom they call "Otute." They told us he was the owner of the district of *Matabae*; but I undeceived them as to that, and gave them to believe that the said commander would not put in any appearance again so long as we continue in residence here. Notwithstanding this, however, they expect him within the space of seventeen months, according to their account[1].

In the afternoon three clysters were administered to *Padre* Narciso. We got out the case of rockets to-day, into the sunshine; these had been brought with us in order to be let off on all festival days, 3 on each, in the name of the Mystery of the most Holy [Trinity]: so as to make the natives see, by means of this tally, that we divide time

[1] The conversation was evidently one of those to which Captain Cook referred in his journal of 1777: "All this, and many other improbable falsehoods, did this Spaniard make them believe," but "my returning again to Otaheite was considered as a complete refutation of all that Mateema had said" [Bibl. no. 28, vol. II, 76]. And again "Otoo added, that if the Spaniards should return, he would not let them come to Matavai fort, which he said was ours" [*loc. cit.*]. Cook returned, in point of fact, just *seventeen months* and some odd days after Máximo's conversation. *Cf.* p. xix.

into weeks and set apart the Sundays for teaching them what is God's Law.

19*th* day:—Mass was said before the break of dawn: the weather not too clear, with some passing showers that came from the S.E. The brother of the *arii* Otù came, and made us a present of a little fresh fish. Vehiatua's mother, who was not well, had me called to her in order that she might take me to Manuel, saying that she was angry with him for having deceived her, and us too, about his coming.

In the evening *Padre* Geronimo went out to take a stroll round the precincts, but was not able to do so, owing to the continual showers. The night passed without incident.

20*th* day:—The morning broke clear and with a light air from N.E. I dug over a little ground in the kitchen-garden, to enable some seeds to be planted, but as it began to rain I knocked off. The wind shifted round to N.W., with heavy downpours. A palm was cut down, as it seemed to us likely to damage the house.

In the afternoon two of Vehiatua's men arrived and said they were the bearers of orders to bring Manuel to us, but that he was in such dread of us that he would not come on, owing to which they had left him at his father's land, situated a little more than a league from our house, at the place called *Atinua*, whence they were sent forward to say I must go there to fetch him. I acquainted the *Padres* with this, but they did not make up their minds until night-time. I told them one could go there and back in half a day, but neither of them would come with me, nor allow me to go by myself either. At this I repeated with insistence that some one must go for him, especially while he was so near and had sent a message to say he was only held back by fear and dared not present himself before us; and also that, if the boy were lost, I might be brought to book by his Excellency. They answered that I must "drop that sort of talk," and would I show them my authority for what I was saying to them? for I might

rest assured that I was not to look to any superior but themselves; and they were now sorry, they said, that they had acquiesced in my being made use of in the frigate's affairs, since I was intended only to be their interpreter, because it was in that capacity alone that I was earning the King's wage. I told them that I recognised as my superiors those belonging to any ship of our Sovereign's, bigger than a launch; but they said "No!" since nobody could advance me more than they could. At last I told them I would submit not to go, as the advice I had urged upon them sufficed for my protection; and with that the question was let drop, and remained in abeyance.

We passed the night with the wind at S., a clear night with a starry sky, and the horizon bright.

21*st* day:—Day dawned fine, the horizon clear, and a light air from S.E. Vehiatua's mother came over to tell the *Padres* they ought to send for Manuel, and that, if they would not, she herself would go with me to fetch him. This gave rise to a fresh controversy, because she remarked to the *Padres* that the trouble was not, as they thought, that the natives would not let Manuel stay with us; as indeed the *Padres* must have clearly seen by Vehiatua's mother being so obliging as to offer—in spite of her malady—to go herself. Nevertheless, she directed an Indian to fetch him, which suited me well enough. And now, when this had been done, they began to bandy words with me about whether I came as a servant to do cooking and dig in the garden, or not, in spite of the fact that I was actually doing so, gratuitously, as well as attending to any odd jobs that presented themselves about the house: from which I am beginning to see that they will pass the time in wrangling until there comes a change.

About mid-day the wind shifted to N.W. and blew fresh; the sky clouded over and some brief showers fell. The Indian who had gone to fetch Manuel came back with an answer that he was afraid to come unless I went for

him, so I again directed another Indian to get him to come and wait in one of the neighbouring huts for me to talk to him. I did not acquaint the *Padres* of this arrangement, lest it should give rise to a fresh altercation.

Some stakes were driven in for the fence. The *Padres* had asked me to get this done; but they fell out this same day with the Indian who had agreed to put up the fencing, as a consequence of which he got annoyed and said he would not do any more. I therefore had to beg him to finish the fence, lest the *Padres* should think he had thrown up the job at my bidding, for on a former occasion when there had been a similar row they declared that I had ordered the natives to desist from what they had made preparations to do.

Vehiatua's mother came to bid us good-bye, saying that her son had sent one of his people to fetch her to the district of *Ayautea*, where he was in a very low state as the result of the illness he had been suffering from. At this news the members of Otù's following arranged to start off very early the next morning, as well; and they therefore called to take leave of us, saying they would not be coming back any more until the frigate should return, as they purposed going on by that route[1] to Opare, which is their Chief's own part of the country.

We passed the night without incident. There were some showers and light airs from the S., and at times S.E.

22nd day:—Morning broke with the sky clouded over and some gusts from N.W. I went outside with *Padre*

[1] Vehiatua being at Ayautea (Vaiaotea) at this time Tu's party would find themselves at the most distant part of the island from their own district, when taking leave of him. The journey from thence to Pare is much easier "by that route," *i.e.* West about, than by way of Taravao or Vaiurua and Hitiaa on the East coast, whether by sea or land, though the mileage to be traversed is about the same in each case. Moreover, Tu may have had reasons for wishing to pass through Papara on his way; while the ultramontane situation of Hitiaa seems to have been somewhat reflected in its political atmosphere. For Tu to select the Western route from Vaiaotea, with his large following, was perfectly natural.

Geronimo to bid the *arii* Otù's family good-bye and we found them just on the point of embarking. They received us affectionately and the *arii's* mother wept at leaving the place where we were [living]. I asked her for three of their houses, out of whose materials I wanted to rig up a pent-roof in the form of a corridor[1] round each side of our house, as well as two huts that the *Padres* wished to have inside the kitchen-garden; which she readily granted. We then went back homewards, and within an hour from then some Indians I had been able to get together went off and brought me two huts from where the *arii* Otù had been living, leaving one still to be brought, but which could not be carried across, because the people were so few and paltry in number, no more having stayed behind. I had some very nicely trimmed flagstones, intended for their cemeteries or *marae* as they call them, brought, and with these we built our fire-hearth and floored some part of the house[2]. They gave us some fresh fish, as well as two bunches of plantains, which were Opo's, Vehiatua's mother.

I went out with *Padre* Geronimo, it being already late in the day, and we found everything in solitude, not above eight persons, what with all sexes and ages, having stayed behind—and those not very near to our house, for they were dispersed about. They warned us not to sleep without being on our guard against thieves, for now was a good opportunity to rob us, and perhaps do us some personal violence; and as this warning was given by those natives with much insistence, we were obliged to sleep ready for anything that might happen, notwithstanding that we had dogs who bark at the slightest movement.

We had it overcast all day, with showers, some intervals of calm, and others of wind from the N.W. shifting at times to N., fresh. The night was calm, the sky starlit, and it passed without incident.

[1] What we should call a "verandah."

[2] Another violation of native religious sentiment, as indiscreet as it was ruthless. *Cf.* p. 66.

23*rd* day:— Morning broke with clear weather, and calm. I went out in quest of fish, but after hauling the net three times we only got some scad and one good-sized albacore, the half of which and likewise the said scad, were presented. This net is more than fifty *varas* in length.

When I got home again I gave directions for fixing up the pent-roofs, and set two of the natives to work on them, to whom I promised two chain-hooks for large fish. A portion of the fence round the fore-court or yard was put up, and, as the work was seen to be lagging, the Indian was told he must try to finish it straight away. At mid-day both lots knocked off and went home, leaving that half of the pent-roof which faces towards the sea finished.

The sky became clouded over and the wind, which was from S.E., died down; and in the evening we had a shower. They gave us some fresh fish; and we passed the night without incident, the wind being from N., with some squalls.

24*th* day:—Mass was said early, and day broke clear, the wind at E., light. We experienced no squalls. The corridor looking from our house towards the sea was completed, and the Indian who did it was given a chain-hook, which made him very contented.

I got the house in which the *arii* Otù had stayed carried over to us by some natives who had come from the district of *Otiarei*, among them a Chief belonging to the island of *Morea*. This was not accomplished without using some threats, for they said they were afraid to move the house, because it had been lived in by their *arii*; and it was only by that means that I was able to succeed. We received news in the afternoon that Vehiatua was now in a very fluctuating state of health, for he had lost all power of movement whatever; and that two Indians of his people, and also Taitoa, were coming to fetch the chest that Manuel, I mean Tomás, had given to Vehiatua, in order

to present it as an offering to their God *Eatua* to see if their *arii* would get better.

I went out with *Padre* Narciso into the gorge to see the Indian who had undertaken to do the fence, as he had not put in any appearance for two days. We got as far as his house, and he told us he would come very early the next day with his people, to fence, and pointed out to us the place where they had gone to cut the bamboos for it, which was a very precipitous hill, and one impossible for us to climb, for it is like the side of a ravine[1]. He also told us that many of the people were busy with work that Vehiatua had left for him to get done, but that they were now well on towards the end of it. More than two hundred souls, of all ages and sexes, had gathered round us, and when we quitted the Chief's house the whole of this crowd kept company with us to see us shoot birds; but only two were killed, as it was already late. We got back to our house a little after sunset.

We experienced no showers all this day and night, but on the contrary the sky was starlit, and there were some light airs from the S., though for the most part it was a calm. We passed the night without incident.

25*th* day:—Morning dawned not over clear, but still calm. The Indian Taytoa arrived about eight or nine o'clock in the forenoon, bringing news that Vehiatua was very ill, and said he had come for the chest that was in our house to offer up to their God *Eatua*, and that they would bring it back again afterwards. He told us also that he brought word from Vehiatua in our behalf, that he was to direct the Indian named[2] who had

[1] *Cf.* the foot-note at pp. 211–12 in vol. II, on the subject of bamboos, reeds, and canes, all called *cañas* in Spanish. The situation where the *cañas* here referred to were growing would befit either kind, and reeds or bamboos would be equally suitable for the fence which, in this instance, was designed to enclose the forecourt ("patio ó plazuela").

[2] The name is wanting in the MS., and a short blank is left for it. There is no clue in the later entries to identify the fisherman ("el pescador") by.

charge of his *arii's* net to give us fish as often as we should ask for it, as he had been left here solely for that purpose; and also that the people up the gorge were to bring us plantains, which the said Taitoa ordered to be done, so that they might know. He brought us some coconuts and fresh scad, saying that Vehiatua felt ashamed at sending us so small a quantity. On behalf of his *arii* he begged that I would go with one of the *Padres* to see him; but answer was made to him that we could not go, because the settlement was so deserted and we lived in fear of being robbed in the night-time, and that only in the event of Manuel coming could I go, because there was no one else able to interpret in any question that might arise. And then Taitoa told us that he had slept in Manuel's house the night before, with a view to bring him along, but that, when they were on the point of embarking, the boy's father and mother came forward and took him away, with much weeping. However, he now told us he would go back and give an order for him [to come] there and then. He dined with us and kept a portion of the meal to carry back with him on the morrow to Vehiatua, who had bid him, so he told us, put by a cooked bird for him, and a little honey, to bring with him; and the said Taitoa started forth highly pleased.

He had me furtively called after him, and urged me to go with him in his canoe, which lay in readiness, in quest of Manuel, for the boy had told him that, unless I myself went for him, he would not come to the mission house. This I did, but when I got to his house I found him asleep; and when he was awakened by the noise of the crowd who were following me, he seemed bewildered. I wheedled him awhile and told him he had no cause to be afraid that we would do him any hurt, either to himself, or to his father for having abetted his desertion from us; and then he answered that he *had* something to fear, because he had had certain words with the seaman who lived with us, and that one of the *Padres* appeared to him in no very

favourable light, and that they were all of them a rough lot. I tried to dissuade him from what he stated, for I had witnessed the tenderness with which the *Padres* welcomed him on the night when he came to us and afterwards slunk off again; but this was not enough to reassure him, and he pleaded that he had stayed away three Sundays without hearing Mass. I urged him not to worry about that, and to come with me; but, when he had yielded, his people came forward in tears and urging him not to come, telling him we would keep him shut up in the house, and that when the frigate should return her people would carry him off with them. This made him repent of his decision, and change his mind again, saying he would not come. On this the persons who had gone there with me got angry and told his father and mother that Vehiatua would punish them and take away the lands they held; but even this, however, was not enough, and, seeing I was not going to gain my point, I returned.

I reached home at four in the afternoon and reported to the *Padres* what had occurred, and that the Indians said Manuel's not coming was due to the fear in which his father stood of us because he had stolen some pieces of baize from our house. But we did not get at the real truth until it had been investigated by Vehiatua, and in the meanwhile we hoped that Manuel would come back to the *Padres'* house, after all.

When this was done with, the *Padres* told me to tell Taytoa that they had need of some more ground for maize, to which he assented, saying he would send men from three districts to root out all the scrub that was on it, and level it, though it was by no means ill adapted, for it adjoined what we had originally taken in and the greater part of it had been previously dug over, there being two plots [of saplings] on it for making their cloth from, which he told me to order one of his henchmen to transplant when we should so desire. He was also told that there

was a tall palm likely to cause damage to our fence, in the event of any strong wind; and he gave directions for it to be cut down. He gave me a canoe-cuddy, for me to sleep in, and would not accept anything in return.

We had it cloudy during the greater part of the day, with wind from N.W., and a few brief showers. At night the wind was S., faint, and the sky clear. We passed the night without incident.

26th day:—Mass was said very early, and the morning broke clear, with an E. wind. At eight o'clock Taitoa set out to rejoin Vehiatua, taking with him for the Chief a female pigling of our breed, some honey, and a cooked bird, and for himself a pair of sucking-pigs, male and female, which he well deserved to get, as he had taken care of our stock for us; and he went off highly pleased with them.

Some work was got on with at the other pent-roof or verandah, that faces the opposite way (I mean the landward side), and it was half completed. One of the sucking-pigs was killed for eating and, though we had the proper seasoning for it ready prepared, it was handed to the Indians to cook after their method and tasted very good. The day continued fine, with but little wind, what there was being from the N.E., but during most of the day it was a calm. We passed the night without incident, though we were put to the trouble of searching the attic on account of the noise the rats made, our cats having given up chasing them.

27th day:—It dawned fine: bright sunshine. They came to work at the verandah; and also the fence, at which [latter] very little was done, and this was the cause of a disagreement with the Indian who has the said job in hand.

They gave us all the fish we desired, as soon as it was caught, for they brought it along in the net. Work was done in the garden at transplanting tomatoes and pot-

herbs from the seed-bed. The bell was hung; and the *Ave Maria* repeated. The verandah was completed, and a chain-hook was given to the man who had been working at it. In the evening some garlic was planted, notwithstanding that we had some already coming up.

We had the wind fresh, from S.E. all day; and one short spell of drizzle in the first part of the night. Some heavy squalls from N.E. and also S.W. occurred, with showers, but of short duration. We passed the night without incident.

28*th* day:—It dawned with the sky clear, and calm. Some work was done in the kitchen-garden transplanting tomatoes. They presented us with a bunch of plantains. From noon we had the wind at S.E., fresh, until the evening. Nothing particular happened with us on this day. At nightfall there were some short squalls with rain, from the N.E. and S.W.

It became necessary, before we could turn in for the night, to put an end to the clatter the rats were making on top of the ceiling, and we saw that some of the bungs of the oil jars had been gnawed, and one rat was actually inside a small jar, all alive; so that we were obliged to get them down and put them inside the portable house. We passed the night without incident.

MONTH OF MARCH

1*st* day of March:—It dawned with fine weather, the wind at E., the sea somewhat ruffled. At mid-day the wind shifted to S.E., fresh: in the afternoon two short showers passed over, coming from the N., faint.

A staging was rigged for repairing a very small portion of the thatch where some water had leaked through the roof. The candles were brought down out of the attic, as the rats had begun to gnaw some of them, and they were put inside the portable house. Some work was done in the garden; and we found some purslane, which the natives

call *aturi*[1]. We had the first part of the night without any wind at all, and from twelve onward squalls from N.W. with rain, until it was daylight. Nothing particular happened.

2nd day of d°:—The morning broke fine and with sunshine, and the wind from S., fresh. They gave us four basketsful of ripe plantains regarding which Taitoa had left orders, on behalf of Vehiatua. Some glass was pounded up and mixed into a lump with dough, for the rats. We had no rain all day, but some fell to the S^d^. where it was much overcast and calm. At night squalls, the wind N.E. It passed without incident.

3rd day:—The morning broke fine, and with sunshine, after it had rained all the rest of the night. Work was done in the kitchen-garden transplanting tomatoes, and also preparing a plot for sowing maize. In the afternoon I got word that Manuel and his father had, between them, stolen some pieces of baize and lengths of country long-cloth, as well as two hand-axes, in consequence of which his guilty fear put an end to all thought of his return to us. I informed the *Padres* of this, and also that Manuel was ill. I went out with *Padre* Narciso in quest of fish, and on desiring the natives to shoot their seine we got, out of a single haul, nearly two *arrobas* of scad, which is the fish in most abundance at this place; and this without going outside the reef, as they haul the said net from the shore. We took as much as we wanted and returned home a little before sundown.

[1] *Aturi* is an indigenous pot-herb in Tahiti and the Society Islands generally, and was identified by Dr Solander in the *Endeavour* in 1769 as a true purslane. He named it *Portulaca lutea*, and his diagnosis is published in Dr Seemann's *Flora Vitiensis* [Bibl. no. 120, p. 9]. It has close affinities to *P. oleracea* (Linn.), but is a finer plant in all respects and has a larger flower. There is an excellent water-colour drawing of *aturi*, by Parkinson of the *Endeavour*, in the B.M.N.H., which has never been published. Forster says of this purslane "Cocta ab incolis oleris loco comeditur, et apud Tahitenses nomine *Aturi* distinguitur" [*Plant. Escul.* n. 43]. For the virtues ascribed to purslane see a later note, p. 100.

We had no rain this day, and the wind from S.W., light: the sea somewhat disturbed. At night it clouded over, and there were some squalls from S.W., breezy. Some rats were killed, we having placed a barrel of water in the attic. Night passed without incident.

4*th* day:—Dawned cloudy, with wind from E., fresh. Some drops fell, but at mid-day the sun came out and the wind settled into the S.E., fresh. The small portion of thatch still wanting was completed. The night was rainy off and on, and passed without incident.

5*th* day:—Mass was said early. The morning dawned cloudy and with wind from the S., fresh: a little later the sky brightened and we had fine sunshine. I went out in quest of fish and brought back as much scad as I wanted. After dinner, at one o'clock, I asked for leave to go to a neighbouring piece of ground, which was granted until mid-afternoon, when I returned with some very fine purslane for supper, which turned out very succulent and well flavoured. These natives call it *aturi*. The afternoon continued calm, but in the first part of the night we had a short passing squall.

Medicine was administered to *Padre* Narciso for the flatulence he had been troubled with during the past two days; and some ointment was also applied to his legs, one of which had been causing him suffering. The night passed without incident; it was calm, and some slight showers fell.

6*th* day:—It dawned with the sky clear and wind from the S.E., fresh. Some work was got on with in the garden, peach-stones and chirimoya seeds being set, as well as some tomatoes and cabbages transplanted, and weeds rooted up. After that, I went out to get fish and they gave me all I wanted. They also gave us four bunches of ripe bananas of the choicest sorts. We had a heavy rain-squall from N. at the beginning of the afternoon, which did not last long; and it cleared up again after-

wards with the wind from S., light. An engraved portrait of the Pope was fixed on the front of the portable house, being placed on the right-hand side of the one of our Sovereign. The night was clear and calm: we met with nothing particular.

7th day:—It dawned with the sky clear, and calm. Four swords, a pair of pistols, and two fowling-pieces were cleaned and overhauled. At half past ten the wind set in from S.E., light. Work was done in the garden. They gave us some fresh fish. At mid-day I went out in search of purslane, and when I had got to the place for it an Indian came up and said I had better return home quickly in order to settle a dispute occasioned by the seaman of our party; and on my enquiring the cause of the row the man answered that the seaman had gone out and set to throwing stones at Vehiatua's he-goat, because it was chasing the two nannies about, and that when he was appealed to to desist he turned on one of the natives who was there in charge of Taitoa's house, and aimed at him. So I went back at once, and when I asked *Padre* Geronimo what he had already learnt about it he related the same story, saying he had restrained the man from taking up arms against the Indian. Then I told the *Padre* he must try to keep the seaman quiet, for on a past occasion he had hurt one of them by throwing salt at him, and Vehiatua had been very vexed about it, because the native was guilty of nothing more than standing outside our hen-yard to have a look at the house. To this the *Padre* made me no reply, for he knew the gist of it already.

They brought us a number of frailsful of *euros* from the gorge, with fifteen bunches of plantains, some fish, prawns ready made up into a pasty[1] after their own fashion, and also an eel. The afternoon was cloudy, with the wind from

[1] "Entamaladas"—a coined word, from *tamal* (Mexican *tenamaxtl*). *Cf.* vol. II, 280, *note* 2. A particular kind of shrimp or small prawn is prepared in the same manner by the natives at Noco, in the Rewa delta, Fiji, and makes a tasty dish.

N.W., fresh, the sea somewhat rough. In the first part of the night the wind fell away to the S., faint: and we passed the remainder without incident.

8th day:—Morning broke cloudy, and with the wind from N., rather fresh. They brought us fish. Work went on in the kitchen-garden. I got news from Manuel that he was now in very bad health. The people from the gorge came to wall in the enclosure with bamboos, until two in the afternoon, when it was finished, and they went away. Two leaks in the roof were patched up. They gave us six frailsful of *curos*. The wind shifted to N.W., fresh, with some rain-squalls and gusts. The night was fine, and passed without incident.

9th day:—Morning dawned clear and in calm. Work went on in the kitchen-garden. They gave us a frailful of fish, and the people of the gorge got the fencing round the fore-court half finished. The wind came round to the N.E., fresh. In the afternoon I went out in search of purslane, and brought a good lot, with some sweet potatoes that had been given me. At nightfall, while we were at supper, they stole a sheet from me, from the outer side of the fence of the fore-court. The night was fine, and calm, and we had no further incident.

10th day:—The morning dawned clear, and with the wind at S., fresh. We received word that Vehiatua was on his way here these two days, for the sole purpose of seeing us.

Passing[1] by Manuel's place I told him to get himself brought to our house, which was done; and, while they were awaiting the canoemen whom Vehiatua had directed to convey him, I stepped ashore and came back to the station by land, reaching it at eleven in the forenoon. I

[1] Some re-arrangement of the paragraphs contained in the entry of this day has been found necessary, to make the sense consecutive; but nothing has been omitted or abbreviated. It still reads as if some introductory sentence is missing from the MS., to explain when and why Máximo went to Manuel's place, which seems to have been to meet Vehiatua.

informed the *Padres* of what was doing; and at one o'clock in the day Vehiatua arrived with Manuel. The Chief had me called across to his house together with Manuel's family who, on being ranged before him, bewailed all that had occurred and confessed themselves bad people, saying that this was why we had brought this disgrace upon them. I could only reply that we too felt it very much, to which they one and all made answer that they were even more sorry themselves, since I was one of their relations. I soothed them as softly as I could, and repaired inside our house, together with Vehiatua, Taitoa, and Manuel—which last came along in tears.

He was very kindly welcomed, and embraced over and over again; but seeing he did not stop sobbing he was asked what was the matter, and he answered repeatedly that he didn't want to stay with us, and named as an excuse some trifling differences he had had in the house with the seaman. So we told him that if he didn't want to stay he might go; whereon he answered very bluntly "Yes!" he did "want to go." The *Padres* then told him he was afraid because his father and his uncles had robbed us of some cotton goods and two hatchets or adzes when they were at the house, to which he made no reply of any sort, for we had proved it against them by what I had found out; so we decided to go for the cottons and adzes on the following day, and that Vehiatua should go with us to see the thing through. And then they went away to their huts.

A couple of eggs were given to Vehiatua. He begged us pressingly to let the seaman go across to prepare them for him to eat, there in his house; but we would not consent to that, for fear of some row, as the said seaman had made trouble by picking up a stone to throw at one of them—without effect, because *Padre* Geronimo had told him to run off out of the way, as has been said on the,[1] which was when it occurred.

[1] Blank in the MS. The date was March the *7th*.

In the afternoon, while I was sitting in Taitoa's house chatting about some islands, this seaman who lived with us came in, clutching a naked sword in his hand, and, without speaking a word, treacherously gave an Indian two thrusts with it, at which they were much astonished; and so indeed was I, for he had no more justification than that he had threatened the man with a musket and told him he must have satisfaction. I said he would be given that whenever a vessel should come in from Lima: to which he made me no answer of any kind. The *Padres* were much upset by this [display of] perfidy and rancour on the part of the man without there being any particular grounds for it; and they therefore exhorted him to go and beg pardon for what he had done. But he would not.

I went with *Padre* Geronimo to see the wounded man after he had been treated, and he received us without showing any annoyance, but he was somewhat rueful by reason of the pain he was suffering. The *Padre* offered to do anything for him that he might need, and we went home again. One of his wounds extended from the shoulder downwards a distance of eight finger's-breadths between the skin and the flesh, the other was at the knee, reaching down to the bone, and was inflicted by a thrust just when they were being separated.

We had nothing particular during the night, beyond a slight shower or two, and it was calm.

11*th* day:—Mass was said very early, in order to pray God to give us judgment and understanding, and Rogations were offered every day henceforward. We had the wind E., light.

I went to see the wounded man, who received me in very good part, and on examining his wounds I saw that the one he had on his shoulder would heal, but the one on the knee was now worse, wherefore I readjusted the dressing I had put on at the time the said seaman wounded him. I got news that they had gone to acquaint Vehiatua

of it, which made me anxious; and this being told to the *Padres* I went with their ready consent to where Vehiatua was, to try and patch matters up. I set out by land, as I had no canoe, and by the time I reached the *Tayarapu* district I met him coming with a lot of people in some double canoes to which they give the name *pahi*. I then embarked in the said craft myself, and he received me with much reserve, for the news had already reached him; but they had put an evil construction on the affair, which made it necessary for me to rebut their view. Yet they again began to overrate the injury we had done, and declared that they were afraid the *arii* Otù would be angry about it, because the man wounded was a son of his soil, and that therefore, if I wanted to avoid trouble, it looked as if I had better go and speak with him. This put me in a quandary, for I had never before heard such [ill-boding] words from them, down to this moment. We had the wind in the S.E., light; and passed the night without incident.

12th day:—Mass was said, at three o'clock in the morning as it seemed to me[1]. We had the wind from S., fresh, and without rain. Vehiatua came with Taitoa to ask the *Padres* to give him a young boar of our progeny in order that he might start the breed with the female that had been sent to him at *Ayautea*; but, being told his request could not be granted, he submitted. Later on he said he would like to dine with us; but he was told we had nothing but a mess of pot-herbs and chick-peas. Then he went out in quest of some fish for us, but as he brought back no more than seven scad he was again told he could not eat with us of our dinner; and so it fell out[2]. As the *Padres* were ready for dinner at eleven in the forenoon they told

[1] Máximo always wrote "misa," mass. Speaking not as an expert I presume he meant matins.

[2] The attitude of the *Padres* seems almost incredible. Evidently the "judgment and understanding" they prayed for had not descended upon them, though Máximo seems to have become enlightened.

me it was now time, and that I was to try and hurry up with it: to which I made answer that it needed cooking for some time yet, and the fire-wood was doing little to help. Then *Padre* Narciso said to me that the seaman cooked for them quickly, and I replied that *he* understood how to, but that I did not; and once, when I was sitting down, he said, because I was not busying myself about it, that I *should* do it or it would be the worse for me, and that the said man had not come to our house for the purpose of serving me, but to serve them—to which I retorted that, at that rate, I would not do any cooking, as I had not come for any other purpose than to fill the honourable post of Interpreter, and not to work as a menial. Then, turning on me in a passion, he declared that I did come as a menial, and that they were honouring me too much in seating me at their table, for I was nothing but a low soldier, *mean, unworthy, and beneath*[1]. However, I did not in the least lose my temper at any of this, though *Padre* Geronimo now jumped up saying I *was* in a temper; but, as he knew the contrary was the case, he next said I was the cause of the other *Padre* losing his. And I leave out some further abuse, and gibes that they aimed at me, mocking me by addressing me as "Señor Don Tal[2]," in consequence of which I afterwards took my ration apart, so as not to have any more squabbles.

In the afternoon Vehiatua came with his party to take leave of us, saying he was going back to *Ayautea* and taking the wounded man with him, so that no fresh feud should arise. Towards sunset we made up our minds to go in search of the bolts of cloth and adzes that had been stolen by Manuel's family; and, starting out to overtake Vehiatua, who was travelling by land, I came up with him and told him what I was going for. But he said I

[1] The words *ruin, indigno, y debajo*....., translated in italics, are purposely defaced in the MS. but remain just legible. A fifth word, represented here by a blank, is quite obliterated.

[2] An ironical expression equivalent to My Lord Sir So-and-so; or, as we might say, Sir Knight.

had better not proceed any farther until the next day, and therefore I was obliged to return home [for the night], where I arrived just before the angelus was rung, and after stating to the *Padres* what had passed, nothing particular occurred; the night was fine and moonlit, and the wind from S., fresh.

13*th* day:—In the morning the weather was clear, with pleasant sunshine; and calm. I started out for where Vehiatua was, to recover the stolen things, and arrived there quite early; but finding him very dilatory about making a start, because of collecting some hogs for himself and his following to eat, I was obliged to go forward about my business with one of the Chief's henchmen accompanying me, as we travelled by land. They brought one of the accomplices before me, and I asked him civilly for what he had, and he promptly returned a large adze to me, which was the only one that Manuel's father had given him, so that he should say nothing. All this was [accompanied] with tears so that I had to soothe him and get him to come on with me to point out the one the others had. I reached the house of Manuel's father, who received me very coolly, and when I asked him to account for what he had stolen he said he had stolen nothing. I then enquired for Manuel, but they told me he was round at the other bay, that they call *Guayurua*; so I directed a man to go and fetch him while I was settling matters with his father, who now gave up to me a bolt of cotton cloth. Manuel arrived very self-possessed, wearing a shirt, and on my asking him to account for the things made away with he retorted very impudently "Not I! you son of a harlot." This made me angry, and I told him to drop that sort of talk, for I was not Vehiatua, whom they were not afraid of, and that therefore he must give in or I would land him a punch or a clout o' the ears. He retorted that I daren't do that, for it was only at *Ohatutira* that we were bold enough to attack with a sword, and there only because they were afraid of the musket or other fire-arms.

Thereupon I set to and gave him a pummelling, not very hard; but, at the first stroke, Manuel's father rushed in and grabbed hold of a club I held in my hand, in order to hit me with it, so that for some time we were struggling together, none of the other Indians having the courage to part us. I cast a look behind me lest some of his party should kill me, but on my laying hold of the knife I had he let go the club and made a dash for another stick to fight with, whilst I sprang outside the house, where by this time the bystanders had hold of him and were hustling him into it with blows. Nevertheless I went off at once to find Vehiatua and tell him what had occurred, none of those who were present venturing to say anything to him about it because they were afraid of what the consequences might be; and, when I got to his lodging, as soon as he was assured of the facts he started off in his canoe with me there and then to give me satisfaction for the affront, and the robbery at the same time. On our arrival at the beach in front of Manuel's house they received us with much weeping; but, provoked as he was, Vehiatua ordered the house to be burnt, Manuel and his father to be banished, and their relations to be dispossessed of their lands. This made them come wailing to me to beg their *arii* for clemency, since they had never made any trouble against me before, and they were very grieved about what had taken place. I had to beg them off from Vehiatua, and he granted what I asked of him, saying I might arrange the reconciliation. So then I sent for Manuel and his father to be brought, for they had taken themselves off, and they both came with plantain shoots and two lengths of print which were the only ones they had, for they now confessed to having exchanged three others for native wraps, declaring they had not stolen more than that, and it turned out that the theft had not been so extensive as their people had alleged, for I confronted the two parties. Nevertheless Manuel and his father were left landless, with only their huts to live in,

and all their plantations were despoiled for anybody to make the most out of they could.

I went on with Vehiatua to where Manuel's mother was, two leagues distant by sea, for there is no way by land, it being all steep cliffs formed by the roughness of the sea[1]. Vehiatua gave orders to make for the shore, that his crew might get food: I was not altogether pleased at this, as I wanted to get through with my business and return to *Ohatutira*, where our station was, and therefore I once more went forward by land until I should find a canoe, for there was not one at hand where I was. I crossed some ravines and then, meeting some double canoes, I was able to reach *Tepari*, fiefs that were in the holding of Manuel's mother, where she was then staying. When about half-way we were overtaken by a heavy squall from N.W., with rain, which caused us alarm, for there is no place thereabouts where a canoe can approach the shore, owing to the reefs and heavy surf, so that we had no choice but to paddle with all speed to get past a shoal, that the natives call *Toatapua*, where they say that canoes and men get lost when the sea is rough. We reached the shoal in question and waited for a smooth spell during which to cross over to the other side, but when we were in the middle a heavy roller came along and one canoe was swamped, though mine lived through it, so that the Indians took to the water to keep mine afloat while the others were baling out theirs. I got as far as the said *Tepari*, but it was impossible to approach the shore because of the heavy surf and the big rocks that fringe it at this part. There are, indeed, some homesteads here and there, but very few, because there are no sites or spots to afford a foot-hold, as it is all one rugged mass, so that I was obliged to pass onwards until I reached *Oyatea*; for

[1] This passage refers to Te Pari, the celebrated cliffs at the extreme S.E. part of Tahiti, where the barrier reef is deeply submerged and heavy rollers pass over it to break against the bold rocky coast and continue the work of erosion.

we saw that Vehiatua would not get by until the sea and the wind should calm down. By dint of good paddling I reached *Oyatea* after the sun had set, and was received by the family of the *arii* Otù with much weeping; but, as it was showery, I passed the night in the canoe-cuddy belonging to Otù's father. They presented wraps and all they had to eat, so that I could stay there for the night: which passed without incident.

14*th* day:—The *arii* Otù's mother came quite early in the morning, with all her people, and a lot of weeping, and when they reached the spot where I was they sat down before me and each one leant forward and presented me with a nice native wrap, figured in colours, and the men with fish and basketsful of eatables.

When this was over Thomas Pautu, who had been concealed amongst the crowd, which was very great, came forward and threw himself on his knees in front of me, in tears, by which I felt moved. I lifted him up, and, while I was discoursing to him of the advantages that had been put in his way, he said that whenever the ship should come back, and bring one of the Chiefs of our own nation who would guarantee Pautu that he should suffer no oppression of any kind, he would be willing to go to Lima. I did my best to get him to promise this and that on the frigate's arrival he would keep in the background until he had quite lost his fear, seeing that he had my assurance that it would be dispelled, as well as to come with me now to *Ohatutira*; but he said he did not care to accompany me at present, because of the stories he was hearing about our goings on of late, and I cannot say whether perchance he will comply, or no.

We all chatted over our countries, and their products, and mode of living, at which they were astonished, and some of them said we must be madmen. They wanted me to name to them the countries our Sovereign possesses, to which I replied that I could not count them, so many are they. I went over in a canoe with a cuddy to see the

arii Otù, for he was staying in Vehiatua's house, and when I got there he welcomed me with much affection. It being then nearly mid-day he presented some cloth and ordered fish to be brought to me; and I was well looked after by him, and by Vehiatua's mother and the others of their party. They enquired of me about Vehiatua and I told them he might come that day, for it was only owing to the bad weather at *Tepari* that he had not yet arrived.

After dinner I moved on to the district of *Mataoae*, where I was entertained with dances or *heyvas*[1], as they call these amusements: they gave me an offering of cloth wraps, periwinkles, mats, and all that the men I had brought for paddling had need of in the way of food. They brought before me a dwarf, whom I measured and found a bare *vara* in height, three *quartas* in girth round the belly, a *geme* the legs, the head very large, and a gruff voice, the entire body hairy, and scarcely able to walk for weariness[2]. His father measures five *cuartas* in height, and, by his looks, is now forty years of age, a little more or less. I set the son down at fourteen to sixteen years, although the natives say that his beard will soon appear, and he will then grow no more. The mother is dead; they say she was about the same size as the son, and for this reason they declare that he will not grow any taller. I stayed in this district all night, as there was much thunder, with heavy squalls from the N. and rain.

15*th* day:—I quitted the *Mataoae* district at an early hour to make my way back to *Ohatutira*; and on coming to *Ayautea* to wish them good-bye they got up a fresh weeping-match. A number of canoes belonging to the *arii* Otù's

[1] See *SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS* at the end of this volume by M. de Bovis on Dances, *upaupa* or *heiva*, pp. 243–4.

[2] Dwarfs are rare among Polynesians, though often enough met with in Melanesian subjects. The one Máximo describes must have been a very remarkable case. For *vara* and *cuarta* and *geme* see the Glossary.

In 1802 Turnbull saw at Matavai "a dwarf only thirty-nine inches high, full grown and duly proportioned in every respect, his age between three and four-and-twenty" [Bibl. no. 138, p. 139].

family accompanied me as far as a bay they call *Matea*. The *arii* Otù's brother put a new and safe one at my disposal, and I came on in her. Vehiatua made a present of a twin-hulled canoe for the *Padres*, which I left behind then, rather than be delayed by it. My departure was the occasion of much regret. I went to take leave of the *arii* Otù and he received me overflowing with tears, but at the same time lamenting the wounded man, for the wound on his back had become inflamed; so I assured him that when our vessel should arrive he would receive satisfaction.

I reached *Ohatutira* at five in the afternoon and delivered to *Padre* Geronimo what I had recovered of the cottons, which were two lengths, and one adze, leaving Vehiatua to gather in the three others that we knew of. I found that a sheet had been stolen from me [in my absence], though they had left clothing that they could have carried off at the same time. I got to know about it, however.

A fresh breeze set in from the N.W. quarter during the day, and the sky became overcast. The night was fine, calm, and there was a nice moon, without incident. The *Padres* told me some small scad had been given them, and also that they had been into the gorge, about the fence; and they said that the man in authority over the people there was now unwilling to do it unless they gave him what he wanted, by which it became clear to us how we stand with the natives.

16*th* day:—It dawned with fine weather, good sun, and calm. I received my ration for dinner. I heard that the vessel named "Otute" that was at the island sent a party who sailed all round it in the small-boat in four days, and that there was one among them who understood their language a little, and whom they name "Opicha" or "Opixa[1]." They took no Indians away with them (although

[1] There seems to be a confusion here between the two visits of Captain Cook. He and Banks made the circuit of the island in the *Endeavour's* pinnace between June 26 and July 1, 1769. Richard Pickersgill was the Master's Mate in that ship, and pro-

some wished to go) for they said they feared they would die, as the voyage was a very lengthy one. They visited some islands they call *Obaytaha, Ponamu, Orayatea,* with two men of *Orayatea* and a woman, whom they consented to take just before their departure. One of these men of *Orayatea* was named Ohitihiti[1], and they say he saw many lands or islands.

In the afternoon I walked with *Padre* Geronimo into the gorge to find the Indian who commands in that part, and he agreed to go and cut bamboos to finish the fence with in two days. We reached home at sunset, and they gave me news of the sheets that had been stolen from me, one of which I got back that evening, the other being left over till the morrow. We heard wailing near our house, and I went out with *Padre* Geronimo to see what it was. We found some Indians inside a hut bemourning a woman who had died about mid-day (of cholera[2], from what they said). They asked me first whether we had any remedy that would bring her to life again, and I told them no. Then they begged me to ask the *Padre* to pray over her, to which he answered that he could not, because they were not Christians[3]. They wanted to place her

bably picked up some words of Tahitian during his stay. He was promoted, and joined the *Resolution* in 1773. When she left Vaitepiha Bay to go on to Matavai, Lieut. Pickersgill remained behind in charge of the pinnace to purchase hogs: and, although Forster says he was known as Petrodero, "o Picha" may stand for Pickersgill, or perhaps mean simply "Officer."

[1] It was in H.M.S. *Resolution* that Hitihiti, whom Cook calls Oedidee, and Forster Mahine, embarked. He joined the ship at Ra'i-atea on September 17th, 1773, and returned safely to Tahiti in her after visiting, as Máximo states, Obaytaha (*i.e.* o Vaitahu in the Marquesa's Islands) and Ponamu (New Zealand); but also Tongatabu and Easter Island [*cf.* Bibl. nos. 29 and 40]. See also vol. II, 191 *note*, 197 *note* 2, 292 *note* 5, and 293 *notes*. Hitihiti, alias Mahine, was a native of Porapora and was related, says Cook, to the renowned *ari'i* of that island O Puni, who also ruled over Tahaa and a part of Ra'i-atea. See vol. II, 306, *note* 1.

[2] Cases of acute gastro-enteritis occur from time to time among the natives. They are usually caused by ptomaine poisoning.

[3] This sentence is underlined in the MS., but not in the same ink as the writing.

inside a cemetery or *marae*, as they call it, which is a little less than twenty *varas* from our house, which would have stunk us out, for they do not bury [their corpses] but set them on a staging of four posts, with a roof above to keep it from getting wet, and so this was objected to; wherefore they agreed to convey the body to another place near, that they call *Ahui*. It held, fastened in one hand, two little yellow feathers, and the entire head reeked of coconut-oil that they were continually wiping the face with: she was a young woman.

We retired; and passed the night with a good moon, the horizon clear, and the wind at S.S.W., fresh.

17*th* day:—It dawned in bright weather, with the wind at S. A shed was contrived against the outside of the house, beneath the verandah that faces towards the kitchen-garden, for the fowls. The gate-way leading into the garden was reconstructed and is now quite secure, for it was between bamboos before, and now a wooden framing has been fitted to it.

In the afternoon I went out for a stroll with *Padre* Geronimo, and we walked two leagues, out and home, a little more or less. I told some boys to dance to the *Padre*, as he had desired it; and he threw them some small glass beads, whereby we were amused at their scrambling for them. We met a woman smeared about the body with blood, which came from her head, for she had slashed herself with a shell owing to a son of hers having died. This is a custom among the women whenever they experience any great sorrow for their relatives, and when the wailing is over they go to bathe and anoint their heads with coconut-oil. We also saw a piece of shell work that they call *parae*, made of mother-of-pearl shell very curiously put together, which the mourner most nearly related wears like a mask—that is, if they possess such an one, for not many exist and they value them so highly that they have not hesitated to ask two sheets and two axes in

exchange, which is what they most hanker after from us. From what these natives say, the ship they call "Otute" thought a great deal of them and paid for them as above stated[1]. That was in the bay they call *Araheno*, where they say the said ship lay at anchor only two days, and because of the heavy swell came away to the harbour where we are. The entrance is very dangerous, being narrow and full of shoals, consequently the sea breaks heavily on the beach, which is rocky[2].

We returned home, where we arrived at sundown.

We had a good moon, and the wind from S., fresh, though the horizon was very lowering in the N.W. We had not anything particular.

18*th* day:—The morning dawned fine, with bright sunshine, and the wind from S.S.E., gentle. The Indian who had undertaken to finish the fence came to us wounded and slashed about by his father-in-law, as he told us, begging us very earnestly to treat him; and, on our desiring him to show us two wounds that he had bound up, we

[1] Several specimens of this singular garb exist in museums. A complete one brought home by Captain Cook is in the British Museum, and Banks gave one to Trinity College, Dublin.

I found parts of one in the ethnological section of the Museo Nacional at Madrid, which I believe to have been collected by Máximo and brought away in the *Águila*—perhaps the very one he here describes. In February, 1789, Tu caused a pair of such mourning dresses to be made for presentation to King George III. Capt. Bligh of the *Bounty* wrote that "Being finished, they were hung up in his [Tinah's, *i.e.* Tu's] house, as a publick exhibition, and a long prayer made on the occasion." There is no record of what became of them after the mutiny [Bibl. no. 126, p. 138].

[2] This bay of Araheno must be the locality the *Padres* call Arahero in their Diary (vol. II, 324 *etc.*). It adjoins the Tautira flat on the Eastern side. There is an impracticable passage opposite to it, a depression in the reef rather than a breach of continuity, carrying no more than 10 feet of water for the most part, and usually a breaking sea. This is the position graphically described by Cook, and also Forster, where H.M.S. *Resolution* nearly came to grief during the night of August 16th, 1773 [Bibl. nos. 29 and 40]. Not remembering the name Araheno I at one time thought it might have been mis-written for *Ava ino*, which means a dangerous or impracticable passage; but in this I was deceived. The passage in question is about two cables wide, and is situated midway between Vaitepiha and Vaionifa. *Cf.* p. 156.

saw that they were dressed with herbs. He declared, however, that those herbs would be very good and would heal him quickly if the wounds had been [caused] by a stone or stick of Otahiti, but that, having been [inflicted] by a knife from Lima, it was necessary, for their speedy cure, to employ dressings from Lima in treating them. Nevertheless he was not given any treatment, wherefore he went away sick at heart[1].

I recovered the sheet they had stolen from me.

Padre Narciso and the seaman went out for a stroll, and a basket of fish was given to them. Meanwhile, I stayed with *Padre* Geronimo laying off a line for the *quincha* that was to be built inside the kitchen-garden, and also the pathway that was to be left. Some garlic was planted. They gave me two baskets of plantains, one of which I handed over to the *Padres*. In the first part of the night we had a very short squall: afterwards a light air from the S., and the sky overcast in the S.W.

19*th* day:—Mass was said at three in the morning, as nearly as I could guess, for we went to bed again afterwards. A pigling was missed from among the little ones, and the *Padres*, unmindful of the fact that the litters run about loose and that we only see them when they chance to approach the door of the house on the look out for any scraps that may be thrown to them, suspected that I had given it away: so that I was obliged to send some Indians out to search for it. From what I can see we are in continual conflict among ourselves.

The morning was cloudy and showery, with light airs from the S.S.E. The wind freshened from S.E., and we had several showers until towards mid-day, when it cleared up and the sun came out nicely. They brought in word

[1] The *Padres* give a fuller and slightly different account of this incident in their Diary of the 19*th* (vol. II, 324–6). They say that the man was Tarioro, a headman or minor Chief of Tautira who acted as Vehiatua's bailiff or constable up the gorge of Ata'aroa: the same who stole the pigling. His wounds appear to have been some three weeks old at this time.

of where the pigling was, and of the person by whom it had been taken—who was *not* the one they suspected. Some fish were given us. In the afternoon I went out with *Padre* Geronimo for a stroll into the gorge, where the people entertained us with dancing, or *heyba* as they say; and some glass beads were thrown to them. We walked a league, what with going and returning, and then made for our hospice, where we arrived at sunset. We had the evening fine, as the wind held in the S.E., fresh; and the same the first part of the night, though the mountain-tops in the S. and S.W. were cloud-capped until midnight, and some showers fell, with wind from the S.

20*th* day:—It dawned in fine weather, with a light air from S. Some boys came in to clear away rubbish from the house, and another to pull up some yams that we had inside our garden, being one of their food-plants. There were some showers; with the same wind, which freshened. The sea was somewhat rough. At mid-day the weather improved. The *arii* of the district of *Mataoae* sent me a present of a mat eleven *varas* in length, which was brought to me by one of his henchmen; and I made a return for it with some trifles. *Padre* Narciso went out with the seaman for a stroll; and I remained with *Padre* Geronimo in the meanwhile, laying off the pathway in the garden, and pulling up some weeds at the same time. We noticed that the melon vines were dying down, and bore only two middling-sized fruit on them. This we attributed to their having been planted in January, which is not the proper time[1]. The cleaning out of the house was finished, and some small fish-hooks and glass beads were given to those who had been working at it. The *Padre* got home before sundown, and had nothing particular to relate. I heard that Vehiatua had gone to the district of *Mataoae*, in the

[1] Water-melons, but not other sorts, succeed at the sea level in the tropical islands of the Pacific; at Tahiti, and places in approximately the same latitude, the best month for planting the seeds is October, and the fruit ripens by Christmas.

morning of to-day, with the *arii* Otù and his family party, where they had been welcomed with many festivities and presents, such as two large houses and quantities of hogs and native cloth.

We had the wind from S., fresh, during the first part of the night, the sky being clouded over in that quarter; but there was no rain up to the middle of the night, which we passed without incident.

21*st* day:—It dawned somewhat cloudy, and with rain; and the wind from S.S.W., not very strong. By mid-day it had freshened, from S. In the afternoon I went out with *Padre* Narciso into the gorge that they call *Ataroa*, where the Indian who had been fencing in the fore-court lives; and he told us roundly that he would not finish the job: that he had given us things enough, and worked for us about our house, and had received no recompense but churlish treatment, and that therefore we might look for another captain, or *tohoa* as they call it, to finish fencing what he had left over. I did so there and then, on the way back home, and called for the captain named Otui, to whom I explained what we wished done and promised that the *Padres* would keep on good terms with him; and he agreed to do it in the space of six days.

We then went home, and arrived there at sunset; rain was now falling and continued until next day, making the night a very murky one. The sea was rough, but the air calm.

22*nd* day:—It dawned clear and with bright sunshine, and the wind somewhat fresh, from N. I went out on to the beach and noticed that the river was very swollen, and had eaten away some land on both banks, and that the sea was agitated. The kitchen-garden, too, was flooded, wherever there were depressions or hollows in the ground. In the afternoon I went out with *Padre* Geronimo to look at the maize I had seen planted by the natives, and we found one stalk bearing two cobs, and charged them to

take care of it, so as to be able to get good seed from it. The others were rather small, and therefore we do not yet know whether they will give any yield. Then we went back and got some weeds pulled up in the kitchen-garden by two Indians whom we allowed to pass inside for that purpose.

I heard from an Indian of *Orayatea* that there are large pearls at his island and that some they get are exceptionally fine. They go to the *arii*, whose name is *Opuni*, according to this man's statement, and to some other persons as well.

We passed both day and night without rain, but the sea was restless, and getting up: the wind from mid-day to evening from S.E., fresh, the night clear and calm.

23*rd* day:—It broke clear and with bright sunshine, and no wind was perceptible. It came in from the S.E., fresh, a little before noon. Some weeds were pulled up in the garden, to prepare the soil. They brought some bundles of reeds for the *quincha* that was wanted inside the garden. In the afternoon I went with *Padre* Narciso to look at the district of *Ahui* which is about half a league distant from *Ohatutira*, wherefore we embarked in a canoe. We were not able to explore it all, because it was late; and we turned back towards *Ohatutira*, where we arrived after sunset, without anything worthy of note except the great numbers of natives that were about. The evening passed with the wind from S., fresh; the night calm, and sky clear, without any rain at all.

24*th* day:—Morning broke clear, with bright sunshine, and the wind in the S.W., fresh. An Indian was let in to pull up weeds in the kitchen-garden, to whom a nail was promised, for [making into] a fish-hook. Some trimmed stones that are used in the cemeteries or *marae*, as they say, were brought; and a portion of the house was paved with these stones, which are neatly squared. They gave us sixteen bunches of plantains of the yellow sort. They brought some bundles of reeds for the *quincha* inside the garden.

In the afternoon I went out with *Padre* Geronimo to walk to the boundary of this district, and we met with a spring whose water is of particular excellence, and flows down from the summit of a hill. As it was then late we returned, and reached home after sundown. We passed the day with the wind in the S.E., fresh; and the first part of the night was calm, with a starlit sky. I got word that Vehiatua had gone with the *arii* Otù and his party, on the morning of the day before, to the district of *Guayuru*. We passed the night without incident.

25*th* day:—Mass was said early, and the morning dawned fine, with the wind from S.E., fresh. I set out for "Puerto de la Virgen[1]" to look for purslane, and got back with some at four in the afternoon. They brought some stakes, to be used as supports for the *quincha*. I heard that Vehiatua had gone with the *arii* Otù and his party to the district of *Guayari*; and also that, as a result of the quarrel Manuel had with me, his parents and relations had not found domicile in any district; for, having been banished by Vehiatua, nobody in any other district would admit them to their lands. The day passed with the wind at S.E., fresh; and we had a fine night.

26*th* day:—Mass was said early, and work was begun on the *quincha*, not without a disagreement between *Padre* Geronimo and the seaman, however, the one saying it ought to be done a certain way, and the other not so: from which it appears that we are all heads, and that we cannot get along for lack of feet.

We had the wind from S.W., fresh. *Padre* Narciso awoke better of his flatulence, after four spoonfuls of almond oil that he had taken overnight[2]. Towards mid-day

[1] Now called Pueu.

[2] Almond oil is reputed a demulcent and mild laxative. Four spoonfuls would be a liberal dose. Gerarde says of it "The oile which is newly pressed out of sweet Almonds is a mitigater of paine and all manner of aches...it maketh the belly soluble, and therefore it is likewise used for the Collicke" [Bibl. no. 131, p. 1445].

the wind shifted to E., and blew fresh; and in the early part of the afternoon rain fell. The *quincha* inside the garden was half completed. I set out in the afternoon for "Puerto de la Virgen" to obtain some purslane for *Padre* Narciso[1]; and when I got to the place where I knew it was growing I begged some of the Indian who had it, telling him that it was for medicinal use. But he hesitated, without knowing what to decide. Seeing my eagerness for it, however, he said he would bring it; but, as soon as his wife knew about it, and that her husband was going to pull up the purslane, she gave vent to an immeasurable flood of tears because, it seems, the said purslane was growing inside their *marae* or cemetery, which had been built by a son of hers who lay buried within the cemetery in question. I procured the purslane and withdrew, leaving

[1] Purslane (see also *note* on p. 78) used to be accounted a simple possessing many virtues. In 1770 Dr Charles Alston [Bibl. no. 123, II, 368] wrote that, eaten as a salad, it "is cooling and demulcent"; and in an edition of Culpeper's work of the same date [Bibl. no. 129, p. 266] it is declared to be "good to cool any Heat in the Liver, Blood, Reins, and Stomach, and in hot Agues nothing better"—besides having a dozen or more other uses. John Parkinson, the King's Botanist, stated in 1640 [Bibl. no. 134] that purslane was known to the Arabians as a medicinal herb, and was described by Dioscorides and Theophrastus as *ἀνδράχνη*. Most of the old herbalist writers copied word for word from their predecessors; but Parkinson was a contemporary of Gerarde, whose well-known "Herball" appeared a few years before the others. Gerarde says of this pot-herb [Bibl. no. 131, p. 522], "Rawe Purslane is much used in sallades, with oile, salt, and vinegar; it cooleth an hot Stomacke, and provoketh appetite ... The leaves of Purslane either rawe, or boiled, and eaten as sallades, are good for those that have great heate in their Stomackes and inward parts, and doe coole and temper the inflamed blood. The same taken in like manner is good for the bladder and kidnies, and allaieth the outrageous lust of the body: the juice also hath the same vertue." Dr William Salmon adds [Bibl. no. 135, Chap. 582, § xiv] that "The Wild Purslane is used beyond Seas, and in our Plantations in Florida, as familiarly in Sallets and Meats, as the first Garden Kinds, and with all the same good effects." Parkinson, like Salmon, refers also to the "wilde Purslane"; and like Gerarde, mentions that "it stayeth the outragious lust of the body." Taking its "vertues" all in all, purslane seems to have been a judicious choice for assuaging the ills that *Padre* Narciso's flesh was heir to, in the situation in which he found himself at this time.

the woman still weeping. It was already dark when I reached home; the night was fine, with a few showers.

27th day:—They came to work at the *quincha* inside the kitchen-garden. Some large flag-stones were brought, with which the flooring of the house is being got on with. In the afternoon I went out in quest of fish, and they gave me more than an *arroba* weight of scad, which is the most plentiful kind of fish in the harbour without going outside the reef; for, in three casts of the net, which is a very large one, they got more than sixteen *arrobas* of scad, insomuch that ten men did not suffice, between them, to haul in the purse. I reached home and presented the share I had received to the *Padres*, and they allotted me a portion after it was fried, notwithstanding that I helped to fry it [*sic*]. We had rain; and the wind was unsteady, shifting about quickly between S. and S.E. The night was fine, and passed without incident except that a hen brought out nine chicks, out of twice that number of eggs that she had laid.

28th day:—Morning dawned clear and calm. Vehiatua sent back the young pig they had given him after having stolen it from us a few days before, to which act *Padre* Narciso had taxed me with being a party. When they delivered it they said that Vehiatua was very apprehensive and troubled at having had the pigling in his possession, notwithstanding he now knew we had been made acquainted with every detail; and they added that the Indian who stole it had been punished for his act and banished. At the time this man presented it to Vehiatua he alleged that the *Padres* had given it to himself, in return for work done by him to our *quincha*, which was false[1]. We did our best to content them with soft words, and get them to lay aside their fears and assure Vehiatua to the same effect; for we knew he was no accessory to the theft.

[1] The *Padres* say, in their Diary, that the delinquent was Tarioro (vol. II, p. 324): concerning whom see also the text of Máximo's entry on the *19th* (pp. 95–6), and *note* on page 95.

Some weeds in the kitchen-garden were pulled up; and some portion of the floor of the mission house was paved. The natives of the gorge came with bundles of bamboos and fenced in a large part of the fore-court before noonday. Some of the *quincha* inside the kitchen-garden was also got on with; and a piece of cotton stuff was given to one of the two men who had charge of the fencing job, when he finished his task. Four *varas* remained over to be done, owing to the other man having run short of reeds.

In the afternoon I went out with *Padre* Geronimo from four o'clock till sunset; and nothing particular occurred, unless it be to have drunk water out of three separate pools in so short an excursion. We had a calm all day, and the first part of the night with a light air from S. and a very transient squall.

29*th* day:—It dawned clear, and the wind came from S.W., fresh. The seaman fell ill, and consequently I turned to to cook. The people from the gorge came, and did a very short piece of the *quincha*: flag-stones were brought and the paving was gone on with. In the afternoon they brought some reeds to finish the inner *quincha* with, and for closing in the openings in the sides, to enable it to serve as a hen-yard. Some weeds in the kitchen-garden were pulled up.

We had the wind from S.E. all day, fresh; and early in the afternoon two short showers fell. The first part of the night was calm and clear; but later on we had two rain-squalls from S. and the sea was somewhat rough.

30*th* day:—I went out in the morning in quest of purslane, and got as far as the district of *Afaaiti*, whose *arii* is named Tavi, a brother of the one who is *arii* in the island of *Matea*[1], which belongs to Vehiatua. I was received by a

[1] This probably means Mehetu, as it was then called, Mehetia now; it must not be confused with Ma'atea (Makatea) which is some 122 miles N.N.E. of Tahiti. Mehetia lies 60 miles due E. from Vaitepiha Bay and Tautira. As to the name Tavi in association with Afaahiti, see vol. II, p. xxx and next. But Tavi is quite a common name in Tahiti.

great throng of people, so numerous that after a short while spent in conversation with the said *arii* and his family we were obliged to move out of the house; but not without difficulty, so that he ordered them to be whacked with sticks, to make way for us to adjourn to his brothers' house. Passing out of the doorway I saw that a big shed, some thirty *varas* in length and ten wide, as it looked to me, was already full of people, wherefore I did not enter it. His brothers came outside and on one of them I noticed two pearls, each as large as a chick-pea, one of the two of by no means bad lustre, but both clumsily drilled, so that on this account I decided not to make him any offer for them. I went homewards again after being presented by the said *arii* with some cloth, coconuts, plantains, fish, and purslane, the last mentioned being the only lot remaining in this neighbourhood, for they had burnt all that was growing in the *marae*, or cemeteries, because of us: since they say that whenever anything belonging to a *marae* is taken away from it their God *Eatua* grows angry and they die.

I got home towards evening, the wind being contrary, very fresh from the S.E., though without rain, so that I was delayed by it. I observed that some more of the floor inside the house had been paved to-day, the inner *quincha* completed and also filled in with reeds at the sides; and when this was finished the fowls and the dogs had been turned outside[1]. The wind calmed down at sunset, and we had a fine calm night.

[1] The *quincha* inside the kitchen-garden, to which Máximo so often alludes, seems to have been a close fence of reeds or bamboo surrounding a space intended by the *Padres* to serve as a hen-yard. As usually understood, *quincha* is a word (of Quichuan origin) in common use in Latin America to denote a wattle and daub wall, the daub being not lime or plaster but puddled clay. There was no suitable clay at Tautira, and the inference is that Máximo uses the term *quincha* loosely to mean a reed fence such as Polynesians commonly construct of *aeho* (*Miscanthus sinensis*, Anderss.), stiffened with stakes at intervals and with perhaps a bamboo hand-rail along the top. In the coralline islands lime is sometimes used instead of clay, especially for the walls of churches

31*st* day:—Morning dawned clear, with good sun, and the wind at S., fresh; but it did not last long. Some people came who had been sent by Vehiatua as a result of what I had said on the previous day in the district of *Afaaiti*, because the people up the gorge had not paid attention to what Vehiatua had warned them to do when he was at *Ohatutira* before, namely to finish the *quinchas* at once, and bring us fish and all that was needful for our use; and he had notified the head man in authority in the said gorge of *Ataroa* that those people were to obey him in everything he might call upon them for. Owing to his neglect this head man was dispossessed of the lands he held for his own use, and banished; and he was carried off from where he was, that Vehiatua's word might not seem false to us. This business being concluded the envoys returned to where Vehiatua was staying, as it was all they had come for.

I went out with *Padre* Narciso for a stroll and we came back at sundown. We had the day calm, and the first part of the night with light airs from S.; the remainder clear and without any rain.

MONTH OF APRIL

The 1*st* day of this month broke clear and with a faint air from S., which lasted only a little while. They gave us fish. After mid-day the seaman asked me to prepare a writing for him to put before the *Padres*, in which he wished to represent the ill treatment he was receiving, both by way of words and of everything else, for they wanted him to work as a mason, a carpenter, and in all and sundry employments for which occasion might arise.

and some dwelling-houses; but clay never. And the lime walls are a white man's innovation.

As the fowls and dogs were now turned outside ("hechado fuera") they must previously have been in closer confinement—perhaps in the lean-to under the verandah; and the passage probably implies that they were now let loose in the new hen-yard bounded by this *quincha*. The *Padres* wrote that the hen-yard was completed on this date (vol. II, 326).

Which writing I did for him in his own words, without intervening in any way except by the use of the pen. When the afternoon siesta was over he presented it, and a violent dispute ensued, of such sort that *Padre* Narciso set to and boxed the man's ears, so that *Padre* Geronimo and I had to hold him back. Notwithstanding this, they decided to give him a reply to the said writing; whence it will be seen that there is no bond between us four, since each one considers himself alone, so that when some are quarrelling the others are mere lookers on.

We had a calm all day, as a consequence of which we felt oppressed by the heat. During the first part of the night we had some showers, still calm; and the same afterwards. The sea was somewhat unquiet.

2nd day:—Mass was said at three o'clock in the morning, by my reckoning, for we went to bed again after it. The morning dawned cloudy in the S.E., but all the rest as clear as a mirror, and calm. I went out in quest of fish, and brought in some that they gave me out of some canoes, of which I handed the greater part to the *Padres*, and kept the remainder for myself. They brought us some purslane, for which they were rewarded with a few fish-hooks, of the small sort. At mid-day we ate one of the two melons that had grown, which weighed five pounds and was rather insipid. I went into the gorge to find the head man who has the command of that part, to get him to say when they would do the fencing: but he answered that the people were unwilling to go and cut the bamboos still wanting, because they were busy gathering the bread-fruit crop, and that therefore he could not say when it would get done. For this reason I was obliged to muster them all, and call up the *eratiras*[1], who are next [in rank] after the head men. And when these had come I told them I wanted to know how many people they had, which

[1] *Eratiras* should be *ra'atira*, the yeomen or small land-holders not in executive authority as Chiefs.

they presently ascertained; but some of them concealed a certain number because they had them serving on their own farms. The trick was unsuccessful, however, for they betrayed one another; so, leaving two men to each of the yeomen, the remainder went off to cut bamboos and agreed to come and finish the fencing on the morrow. I then made for home, having received word of some fresh altercation between the *Padres* and the seaman. In the afternoon I went out for a walk with *Padre* Geronimo and we returned before sunset without meeting with any particular adventure.

During this day we had some gusts of wind from the S., fresh, with intervals of calm. The same wind from S. continued after nightfall; but the weather was cloudy on all sides, though we did not experience any rain at all throughout the remainder.

3*rd* day:—It was already light when Mass was said; and quite calm, like a looking-glass. I went into the gorge to bring the Indians for the fence, and they came about mid-day and left a big bit done. In the afternoon we got ready the timber that was lying inside it for fixing the gate, as well as for the fowls. The seaman having gone out for a stroll came back with the information that an Indian had shown him a new surplice, which he wanted to exchange for the flannel the seaman was wearing: which made us wonder where the man could have got it from. The *Padres* decided to tally [the contents of] their chests on the following day, however, although they said they had never yet taken a surplice out.

We had some gusts of wind from the S. during the day, fresh: and in the evening the wind shifted to N.W., fresh. The night was fine, with light airs from E., and no rain.

4*th* day:—It dawned clear, with a fresh breeze from S.S.W. The *Padres* searched through their chests but found no such surplice there, from which it became clear that the one the seaman had seen must be ours; and it

was inferred that some native must have purloined it on the day when the Comandante was buried, yet it had never been used, even on that occasion. But, being now sure that it belonged to us, *Padre* Geronimo directed me to go and recover it. So in the evening I went and, using all caution, found out about it for certain; but I left its delivery over until the morrow, as the thief had gone off with it to the district of *Guayuru*, for fear of meeting with a punishment from Vehiatua.

We had a salad of endives for supper at night, being the first we had gathered. The wind was from S.E., fresh: first part of the night calm, and a slight shower.

5*th* day:—It rained before daybreak, with a strong wind from S. A fowl was killed for *Padre* Narciso, as he was somewhat indisposed in the stomach, though not seriously. I accordingly begged *Padre* Geronimo to give me leave to go to the district of *Guayari*, in order to visit Vehiatua who was lying sick unto death there, with all the Chiefs of the island about him; and also to acquaint myself of what the pearls owned by those natives are like, and in addition to see a seat formed of black stone, which was at that place but which the people there had declined, with various ill-founded excuses, to let me have. I communicated this to *Padre* Narciso, who left it to their own judgment, but it did not come to pass.

I started off at mid-day in a canoe, and stayed the night at *Taviari*, where the *arii* of the district of *Afaaiti* had quarters with his party near the middle part of the neck of the island, which they call *Taravao*. I passed the night in a canoe-cuddy that they set apart for me, being a good deal disturbed by reason of the great crowd. They presented some fresh fish, which proved enough even for the canoemen I had brought with me as well. No rain fell, and the wind was very light, from N.E.

6*th* day:—Morning broke with the sky clear, and calm. I set out with the said *arii* Taví and his family, the convoy

being made up of seven canoes with awnings; and when we were near to *Guayari*, where Vehiatua was sojourning, they halted for the day; but I went on in one of his canoes with an awning to the place where Vehiatua actually was. Masses of the populace from all parts of the island were assembled in this district, so that it cost my guides some labour to open a way for me to enter the house, by distributing numberless whacks.

I found Vehiatua reclining in the laps of his relations, with a great display before him of the objects he had acquired from ships that had visited his, as well as other, territories in the island, looking like a stock-in-trade of shop wares; and on my asking what the idea of that was they answered me that Vehiatua had made an offering of all that he possessed to his God named *Eatua*. I endeavoured to console him, and he was much affected as soon as he saw me. Meanwhile, I noticed that one of the Indians within the house was dealing himself lusty thwacks, and in some alarm I enquired what it meant. They told me that what he was doing, and giving utterance to, signified that their God *Eatua* had descended, and that this man's body was possessed, thereby causing him to behave in this manner; and that the words he uttered were inspired by the said *Eatua*. Presently he quietened down somewhat and began to strip the cloth wraps that appeared to him the best ones from the people who were in the house, but those that he got from Vehiatua were only the poorer sort; and then, keeping for his own profit the wraps he fancied most, he directed the others to be distributed to whomsoever he pleased. The people gratified him in all that he did or desired, because, they said, he was under the influence of their Divinity[1].

I quitted the house, bewildered by the throng of people and the hubbub. I went over to where the other Chiefs at

[1] The late M. de Bovis made a special study of the Tahitian cult, its rites and customs; and extracts from his essay are printed in the *SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS* in this volume, one of which (p. 239) relates to these "inspirés" or "démoniaques," as he terms them.

present staying in this district had their quarters; but the day was too short to allow of my being greeted by them all, for each one wanted to claim me as his guest. This being got through, I returned in the evening to Vehiatua and found him somewhat easier, and I tried to persuade him to come back with me, telling him he should be supplied with everything there was for his recovery; but he said he feared to come to *Ohatutira* for love of us, because he was aware of the sacrilege we had wrought in the cemetery or *marae* by taking stones from it to pave our house with[1], and he also cited the squabbles that had arisen with his followers when he was at *Ohatutira*. It was therefore his intention not to return to where we were until the frigate should arrive. I tried to dissuade him from it all, and told him that, in this case, we should go away to Lima; for it was not their lands that attracted us but the people themselves, and then he promised me he would come back as soon as he got better, and could take leave of the *arii* Otù in the district of Papara, which is the boundary of his own territory. He asked me what I would like to have. I said a net, and a double canoe; and thereupon he gave directions for the best net to be looked out for me, and any canoe that I might choose. I picked out one of good timber, to which the name *Júpiter* had been given; but it was necessary to go to the district of *Guayuriri*, which lies two leagues farther on, for the net.

Next day, when it was nearly nightfall, Vehiatua ordered me to be supplied with what there was, saying to his courtiers that we were better guests than the *Orayatea* people and other islanders in the habit of coming, to whom they do the polite with hogs, and dancing festivals, and presents of native cloth; and they complied with great goodwill, addressing me as "Vehiatua."

I passed the night in a canoe-cuddy, but Vehiatua continued in a serious condition, and therefore they kept

[1] *Cf.* pp. 66, 71, 98, *etc.*

watch by him. A strong N. wind was experienced to-day; blowing hard but without rain.

7th day:—The morning broke cloudy, and with some squalls. A message reached Vehiatua that four ships had been seen to the south'ard, which caused some excitement. Nevertheless, I advised Vehiatua not to believe it; but the people from Otù's territory rejoiced at the news because they supposed the ships were from [the bay] where the one they call "Otute" had called, which are their lands, whereas Vehiatua's are our Sovereign's. And this notwithstanding that I refuted their argument on every point they raised.

I then went away to the house in which the *arii* Potatau[1] of the district of *Atehuru* was lodging, of whom Manuel and Pautu's report affirmed that his sister-in-law, Puratihara[2], owns a [pearl]; it is not [one][3] however, but three, each as large as an almond and good in all respects, as I am informed. So, availing myself of a roundabout conversation to sound her about them, as if casually, she mentioned that they had been purloined by the *arii* of the district of *Tetaha*, one of Otù's territories, who is named Tepau[4]. I asked her why he did not return them, and she said that he wouldn't, because he had no fear, owing to his lands lying apart from hers.

I saw the pearls belonging to Otautiti[5], the lady who was Vehiatua's for a short time, and on my asking her

[1] This *ari'i*, who is also quoted as Potatau by Cook and Forster and Bligh, but whose titular name was Pohuetea, was a genial and very influential Chief, and his district was one of those in the forefront of Tahitian politics. His family connections with the aristocracy of Ra'i-atea constituted him a patrician among the Chiefs. *Cf.* vol. I, 322 *note* 3; and II, 170.

[2] Or Purutefara.

[3] The words within brackets are lacking in the MS., but no blanks are left.

[4] Capt. Bligh mentions this Chief [Bibl. no. 126, pp. 93–6].

[5] See vol. II, xxv and 276. Banks described Tautiti, or Tauhitihiti if such was her name, in 1769, as "a very comely woman about five and twenty years old" [Bibl. no. 51, vol. II, 158]. They met, on that occasion, in the company of Vehiatua's father.

why they parted company she told me that the reason was that they were first cousins, and neither Vehiatua's mother nor her own relations approved of the alliance; and of the two pearls mentioned in the report one has only lately been given back to her by Vehiatua's mother, together with two more of the size of a chick-pea, the two large ones being equal to an almond. They are defective, however, one of them being dented, though of good lustre, and the other because it is not well formed and has a rather uneven base, nor is this one's lustre very good. But the two of the size of a chick-pea have no defect, other than being drilled clumsily. All of them can be easily obtained by barter in exchange for sheets, axes, or a red handkerchief—which is what they most hanker after.

Then I went back to Vehiatua and found him bright and holding a conversation about the show of wares; I began (with his permission) to examine what he had, and I discovered a book in the English language whose title was "Mathematical Tables," printed by Thomas Page, at London[1]. I asked him how he had come by it, and he answered that one of his people had filched it and he himself had taken possession of it. I begged hard that he would let me have it, for it was of no use to him for anything, and he made me a present of it at once.

At sunset all the members of Otù's family arrived at Vehiatua's house, having come to watch by Vehiatua. I passed a bad night in consequence, as I was not feeling very well and they wanted me to gossip with them about whatever came into their minds. All I told them met with approval in their sight, except that women should eat

[1] Thomas Page was a well-known stationer, a founder of the firm of Messrs Mount and Page, of Tower Hill, licensed vendors of the *Nautical Almanac* when it was first published. Thomas Page himself died in 1733, but as to whether he was succeeded in the firm by a son Thomas, or no, I have no evidence. Mount and Page were printers of *The English Pilot*, 1773 edition, and it may be that the mathematical tables mentioned by Máximo had formed part of a work on navigation bearing the headline quoted.

with the men; for they are imbued with the superstition that by getting food for the woman and eating in company with her, the men would be struck blind or crippled, and I could not turn them from this [belief] however much I tried to persuade them of the truth. A calm prevailed throughout the day, and the night passed with the wind at S., fresh.

8*th* day:—It dawned cloudy and with rain; and finding that the person who had been sent to the district of *Guayuriri* the day before to procure a net had not come back, I set out in a double canoe with an awning for that district. When I got there a great many people collected together, at the unexpected incident of my arrival, to see me; and the *arii* of the place presented native cloth, and provisions for the men I brought as paddlers. And on some people going forth to look for the net, they met the man already coming with it. I returned to Vehiatua to take leave, as I had nothing more to stay for, and I found him in a pretty precarious condition, and with news of some sort of revolt having occurred amongst the *Papara* people, in consequence of which it became necessary for me to wait until I could learn the facts with certainty; Vehiatua told me, however, to speak with his favourite named Teieye, as he himself was tired. On my doing so, Teieye asked me to help in the matter, for Vehiatua had told him that this had been promised him in the compact of possession that had been entered into; to which I replied that endeavour must first be made to settle affairs by peaceful means, and that, if perchance the frigate should make some stay when she came, he would be duly avenged. One of the natives was therefore despatched in our name to the *arii* Terire[1], the son of Oamo, who is Vehiatua's uncle, and rules over the said district of *Papara*[2], to draw

[1] The name should properly be Teri'i Rere; or, in full, Te Ari'i Rere i To'oara'i.

[2] Papara was, and in spite of dynastic changes that originated in Teu and Tu, *père et fils*, still is, one of the most important

his attention to the disastrous consequences that bid fair to overtake him, and the said favourite rested satisfied; besides this, too, the *arii* Otù and the rest were on Vehiatua's side in the matter. This being settled I took my departure, leaving the answer pending.

This night I spent midway on the track they call *Taravao*, being prevented by the rain and a strong N. wind from going any farther.

9th day:—Morning broke clear, and calm. The *arii* of the district of *Afaaiti*, who was near there with a lot of his people, came to haul the canoe across by land; and in a short time they launched her from the beach [at the opposite side of the isthmus], more than thirty men having lent a hand in the job. On my wishing to reward them with some glass beads for ear-drops, they would not accept them; but said they had done no more than their duty.

I reached *Ohatutira* in the afternoon and the wind continued from the S.E. from mid-day until evening, not very fresh. I communicated to the *Padres* all that had passed, as well as Vehiatua's gift of the twin-hulled canoe and the new net seventeen *varas* in length. I noticed that *Padre* Narciso looked somewhat jaundiced. The seaman had been rather unwell, though not enough so to keep his bed; and they had stolen an eleven days' chick from him, through his having neglected to look after it when it got outside the fence. This latter they had not completed,

districts in Tahiti. O Amo was the personal or familiar name by which its Chief Tevahitua-i-Patea was known in the time of Capt. Cook and his contemporaries. He was the Patriarch of the Teva clan, and his wife, the mother of Teri'i Rere, was Te Vahine Airoro-Atua, popularly called Purea, whom Wallis styled the "Queen of Otaheite." Teri'i Rere was only a boy in Máximo's time. He died in 1788, his father in 1777 and his mother in 1775—if not in 1774. If in the last quoted year, indeed, it is more than likely that it was to her funeral that Vehiatua's mother Purahi went, as related by Máximo, on Dec. 17. Amo was not Vehiatua's uncle as we should say, but his maternal great uncle: Purahi being the daughter of Amo's sister Tetua-Unurau. Vehiatua and Teri'i Rere were thus first cousins once removed.

owing to the natives up the gorge being still busy with their crops.

Padre Narciso having gone out for a stroll, with the seaman for his vice-curate, the conversation turned on the rising [in *Papara*], and on mooting the question of what had best be done, he[1] answered me that it was no affair of his, and that he had no recollection of what was stipulated in the Convention either, through lack of instructions which ought to have been given him: and this although he had stated, a few days previously, that he had by him a summary of all that was agreed upon. By this one gets to realize the indifference with which this person views things. However! I hold to my belief that [the *Papara* feud] will be patched up.

The night passed with light airs from S., and without rain.

10*th* day:—Morning dawned clear and with the wind from S.E., fresh. I set out for the gorge, and they immediately went in quest of bamboos to finish the *quincha* with; and did a little work at it. I handed over the net to the fisherman, and he said it was the custom to present pigs, cloth, and all sorts of fruit that they live on, to any person to whom a net is entrusted to fish with [for the owner], not excepting even the *arii*. I therefore complied, by sending up the gorge, to content him.

Vehiatua sent me some plantains, and gave directions for me to be informed that he was better, and also that the envoys who had gone from *Guayuriri* into *Papara* were now returning, as they had found cause to foresee

[1] The paragraph is clumsily constructed, so that it is by no means clear when or where, or between whom and Máximo, the conversation took place—whether, that is, *Padre* Narciso or *Padre* Geronimo was his interlocutor. But it seems most likely that the former was "this person" to whom Máximo attributes indifference. If there was any difference in the relative ecclesiastical status of the *Padres* it was Narciso to whom precedence belonged; but whether this was merely in deference to his seniority in age is nowhere stated. The terms of the Convention (vol. II, 157–8 and 467–8) were in fact exceedingly vague and debatable.

an unfavourable issue, so that it will all remain without any useful result. I sent him some biscuits, as he had begged me for a few when I went to visit him.

At four in the afternoon I went out for a walk with *Padre* Geronimo; and we chanced to meet the Indian who knew about the surplice. He told me that his wife had taken it from her brother, in order to return it to me, but had given it away to another woman; so I warned him to try and recover it, saying that in the contrary event Vehiatua would settle accounts with her. We got home at sundown, and the fisherman came to announce that he could not keep the net in his house, because he was only a commoner, and his house likewise *efarenoa*, as they say; so it became necessary to look for a house adjoining his own and remove it thither. All this was merely because the net had arrived in the twin-hulled canoe given us by Vehiatua; and when I asked him what could happen to him if he kept charge of the net in his own house, he answered that Vehiatua would banish him without the slightest doubt, since it is one of the strictest injunctions[1]. I had therefore to search for a house, the next morning, in which to keep the net and the canoe that were given into his charge.

We had the wind S.E., fresh, all day; and at night S., with some rain.

11*th* day:—It dawned fine, with a light air from the S. and a shower. I went out with the fisherman to look round for a house, and a fresh quibble was raised, as to whether women had been living in it, until at last a man's house was found and removed to the spot that was thought to be best suited. In the afternoon *Padre* Geronimo went out for a stroll with the seaman, and they came back at

[1] The idea seems to have been that though a commoner might, as a matter of convenience, be given the care or supervision of property belonging to a Chief, or regarded as semi-sacred through having once been a Chief's, he must on no account put it to his private use, but merely hold it and employ it as a trustee for the time being on behalf of the owner.

sunset without adventure. Some rain-squalls were experienced during the day, from the E.; and at night from S., light.

12*th* day:—It dawned clear, with a light air from the S. and a smart shower. I went up the gorge to get them to come and finish the *quincha*, and they told me they would do so on the following day; after that I turned back for home. At mid-day the fisherman came with more than an *arroba* of fish of good quality; we took as much as seemed to us [desirable] and gave away the remainder.

Some people of the district they call *Tepari*[1] arrived with bundles of bamboos to wall in a large building belonging to Vehiatua; and we took over the bamboos from them and got our fence finished; giving each of the workmen some crystal beads and a bonito hook, with which they were well pleased. We also gave two pieces of red baize to two who had been in our employ on time work.

The day passed with squalls from the E. bringing heavy showers of rain, and others from S. also with rain: the first part of the night with wind from S.E., fresh, which did not take off but was not squally. And our first broccolis were gathered.

13*th* day:—It dawned clear, and with the same S.E. wind, fresh. We got word that Vehiatua had recovered from his illness and was preparing to go to war with the natives of the *Papara* district. The fisherman came after mid-day with some good fish caught in our net. We set up a weather-cock, by which to know the variations of the wind better. Some people of the island of *Morea* who were on a jaunt came, and some glass beads were given to them. We had a strong wind from S.E. all day and during the first part of the night, hauling into the E.S.E. at times; but without rain.

14*th* day:—A few squalls passed over before dawn with

[1] Te Pari—the Cliffs—is a locality (at the S.E. extreme of the island); not a "district" in the administrative sense. *Cf.* p. 88, *note*.

the wind at S.E., blowing in gusts, but it calmed down when the sun rose, though it remained cloudy in the S.

A piece of baize was given to the fisherman, to keep him contented. In the afternoon I went out with the seaman to look for the biggest of our boars, to kill on the morrow; but no one was able to give any news of the animal, in spite of the many days we had not seen him, though they were on the look-out; and therefore we do not know what may have been his fate. We got back to the house and reported to the *Padres*, and it was decided to beg a small boar from one of our neighbours, promising him one from the Lima stock so soon as either of the sows that were in pig should farrow, and explaining to him that it would not do to kill off any of the young ones because it would hinder the establishment of the breed. He agreed to this on the instant, though with some reluctance on the part of his wife.

The day passed with the wind at S.E., and in the first part of the night hauling into the S., light, without rain.

15*th* day:—It dawned cloudy and calm. I went to see the fisherman, intending to go out fishing with him; but at the moment of starting the wind set in strong from the S., with rain, and as we saw the day was going to be a bad one, I was obliged to return home, for the river kept on rising at a great rate, which made it troublesome to cross. I reached home and saw that they had now fixed the gate of the fore-court in place.

A little after this we heard a great shouting amongst the natives, and on going out with *Padre* Geronimo to see what it meant we found that the river was very much swollen, so that it could compare [in volume] with the one at Lima when that is very full. This rushing freshet caused damage by flooding the gorge, where it washed away several trees, and dislodged some dead bodies that lay in the cemeteries or *marae*. It overflowed the adjoining flats to such an extent that the greater part of

Vehiatua's plantations, which consisted of the shrub they fuddle themselves with[1], were destroyed: a very grievous mishap for them. The farmsteads that stood on low ground were inundated with water, especially our kitchen-garden, which looked like another river; and as a result of this we cannot tell whether anything will come of the things planted in it. So great was the force of the current that much of the bank on the seaward side of the stream was washed away, and the sea-beach was strewn with drift-wood and rubbish[2]. Towards noon the rain diminished and the river had begun to fall; but the wind continued. In the evening the *arii* of the district of *Afaiti* (whose brother used to live in the island of *Matea*[3]) arrived with news to the effect that the agitation in *Papara* had now been suppressed, and that the people of that district were preparing a round of feasting as a compliment to Vehiatua, who, at the same time, was ready to proceed to *Papara* on the morrow, together with all his following, and would there take leave of the *arii* Otù, as that is the frontier of his territory. It was also stated that Vehiatua was better of his illness. The *arii* gave me twelve bunches of plantains, and I rewarded him with some trifles; and then he went back, as he had only come for this purpose.

The wind freshened from the S.E. again a little later, with some light showers, and continued so until next morning. We saw that there was a storm outside, judging by the signs of the sea; but the harbour was smooth and free from breakers.

[1] The *ava*. See the GLOSSARY.

[2] The Vaitepiha, like the other rivulets of Tahiti, being fed by mountain streams which descend steeply from great elevations in the not remote interior, is liable during violent rain-storms among the mountains, to swift and very sudden floods. For the same reasons they quickly subside when the rain ceases. The situation of the breach made in the seaward bank of the river is well seen on the chart in vol. II, p. 120, adjoining the head of the bay. *Cf.* also *note* 2, p. 119, of the same.

[3] This *looks* like Ma'atea; but one would expect it to refer to Mehetia. See *note*, p. 102.

16*th* day:—The same stormy weather continued from the S.E., with passing rain-squalls. Two Masses were said. I went out with *Padre* Narciso as far as the beach, and we saw that the river was now down, and the bay calm; but a heavy swell was still rolling outside the reef. We heard that Vehiatua was a good deal worse of his illness again, the messenger having come over to fetch two *tahua* (who are their priests) and to desire them to press forward at once along the road to *Guayari*, where the Chief then was, that he might gain relief through their supplications; for these two *tahua* were, so far as we could make out, personages of the highest repute, one of them belonging to *Orayatea* being named Temaeva and the other, of this island of "Amat," being named Manea[1]. As soon as these two gentry had conducted an office of prayer in the *marae* that Vehiatua owns here in this place[2], they started off for where he is at present staying, with the intention not to return here until he should be better. I sent a message to him, on our behalf, that we are much grieved to hear of his broken health, and that *Padre* Narciso will go to visit him in the course of the next eight days (for it was necessary to cast about for a canoe-cuddy, for fear of rainy weather). We got news of the boar that had gone a-missing, and which it was conjectured might have got fast in the bush, somewhere; and on some natives going out to catch him they brought him in, and he was soon gelded.

I went out to see how the sea looked in the S.E. quarter; it was very rough, and there was a strong wind blowing. There was no rain during the remainder of the day, and the wind hauled now and again to the E.S.E. The bay

[1] Máximo was well informed in this matter. Temaeva was a *tahua* of the most exalted caste and family prestige in Ra'i-atea; while Manea, arch-*tahua* of Tahiti, was Amo's own brother, and consequently a great-uncle of Vehiatua. They were, in fact, two High Priests of blue blood and great renown.

[2] *i.e.* the *Marae* Vai-o-taha at Tautira, almost adjoining the Spaniards' mission house.

itself remained quiet, the sea not breaking on the beach. The night was clear but the sky cloudy: the S.E. portion was laden with clouds.

17*th* day:—When day dawned the sky was not very cloudy: the wind still hung in the S.E. though it was not so strong. Mass was said early; and presently it was found that the hog had died during the night, from the effects of the castration. It was made a gift to the Indians, who at once put it on to bake, and it was eaten among a lot of them to whom it afforded a repast such as they account most exquisite.

A beginning was made on a bower that the *Padres* wished to be rigged over the privy they had dug for themselves inside the kitchen-garden fence. This inner bower was completed; and another was run up on the outer side to screen the doorway of it from the light of day, and was also completed by sundown. This brings to a conclusion all the constructive work about the house and garden, and the other jobs connected with it.

We had a cloudy day, with the wind at S.E., as is now usual; and the same all night, without any rain.

18*th* day:—It dawned cloudy, with the wind E., fresh. Mass was said; and then I went out in quest of fish, and they gave me some scad they had just caught. I went out afterwards with the seaman as far as "Puerto de la Virgen," where the district is called *Anuhi*[1], both for recreation and to hunt up a canoe-cuddy for *Padre* Narciso, so that he might go and visit Vehiatua. There was a good deal of swell in the harbour, and it was breaking on the beach, so that we could not find any sheltered spot to bring up in with safety. I went to the house of the widow of the late *arii* Pahiriro, and she received me with many expressions of affection, besides giving me some bunches of plantains that she had by her, already ripe. I asked her for the loan of a canoe-cuddy for our use when going to see Vehiatua;

[1] It is now Pueu.

but she replied that neither her own nor her daughter's (which were the only ones they had) could serve to accommodate me, because the canoe I was bringing had belonged to Vehiatua. She gave it the title of *Evara*[1], which is like saying a "royal canoe," but called her cuddy *efare evanoa*[2], which signifies a commoner's canoe-cuddy: for every woman, even though she be the *arii's* mother, is inferior [in rank] to the son, and from what I have seen and learned the sons are nobler, or more exalted, than their fathers[3]. Nevertheless, I persevered in my enquiry for one that *could* be fitted to my canoe, leaving the answer over till the morrow. I returned to *Ohatutira* next day (I mean to-day) by land, as I suspected I should do better[4] that way, because the wind was contrary and there was also a head swell, as I have said.

Glancing, as I went along, into some roomy-looking huts, there met my view, hanging up in one of them, three lower jaw-bones with their full sets of teeth. When I asked what this meant they answered that they were the jaw-bones of certain kinsmen of the *arii* Otù, who had met their death at the hands of the owner of that house when Vehiatua was at war with the people of Otù's territories: which war Otù won, according to what he himself would have me believe, although these people try to put a different face on it. I wanted to make myself acquainted with the motives that had caused this war to break out; but the aforesaid Indian of the district of *Ahui*, named Paera, did not happen to be at home. From this point I embarked, as the wind had died down, taking

[1] *i.e.*—*e va'a ra'a*, a sacred or patrician canoe.

[2] *i.e.*—*e fare va'a noa*, a commoner's canoe-cuddy.

[3] The heir to a Chiefdom took precedence of his father from the moment of birth, provided that the mother was of equal rank to her husband. The latter's influence then became correspondingly diminished. It was for this reason that Amo retired from prominence when Teri'i Rere was born; a circumstance which enabled Purea, the mother, to exercise the regency *de facto*, for a while, by virtue of her masterful disposition, rather than allow Amo, who was declining in vigour, to continue to hold the reins.

[4] The MS. reads "por recelava el mejarme," for *mejorarme*.

with me a canoe-cuddy that a *tohoa*[1], which corresponds to "captain," had lent me. I reached home towards the middle of the afternoon, and found that nothing noteworthy had occurred.

We had the wind in the E. all day until the middle of the afternoon, with some sunshine, as the sky was not much laden with clouds. The first part of the night was calm, without rain; and the remainder with [wind from] S.E., fresh.

19*th* day:—There was rain at daybreak and we had the wind from E.S.E., fresh; the sky not much clouded. Nothing of note happened to-day: in the evening I went out for a stroll on the beach with *Padre* Narciso and we noticed that the sea to the S.E. was still somewhat rough from the effects of the recent storm. In the evening the wind was S., fresh: the night fine and clear.

20*th* day:—Morning dawned clear, and the wind was from E., fresh. Mass was said early. At eleven in the forenoon I went with *Padre* Narciso to watch the fishing; and the fisherman gave us the whole of his catch. Then we went forward towards "Puerto de la Virgen," or the district of *Anuhi* as they call it, and soon got there, with the wind aft, our cuddy serving us for a sail. We were made welcome, and they gave us coconuts, and some of the shrub they fuddle themselves with for us to bestow on our fisherman. We walked through some of the country and it appeared to the *Padre* very good: both by reason of its flatness, and because the soil was suitable for *tapias*. We started homewards by land, leaving the canoe-cuddy behind, as we saw how fresh the breeze was and that the canoe could not make headway. We told the Indians who were paddling to wait for us in the next bay, knowing that there was less sea there[2]; they did as directed, and we reached home as the sun was setting. On this day we

[1] *Cf.* p. 37, *note*.

[2] Now known as Port Pihaa, in longitude 149° 11′ W: it is well protected by the barrier reef East of Taharoa passage.

had the wind from S.E., fresh, from nine o'clock in the morning until four or five in the afternoon: the remainder fresh, from S., and some showers.

21*st* day:—Mass was said, and daylight came with the sky clear in parts but clouded in others, whence we experienced some showers, with the wind from E.S.E., fresh. The people from up the gorge brought us two bunches of plantains, and four birds that look like doves[1]; and a few fresh fish arrived by the fisherman, as well. In the afternoon I went out in quest of some sennit, that they plait of coconut fibre, with which to lash up one of the cross poles of the canoe, that had got sprung, and they gave me as much as was needful. A palm was felled, as it was threatening to damage our kitchen-garden if any wind should bring it down, for it was a very tall one; and a salad was made of the crown.

From ten o'clock until the middle of the afternoon we had the wind at S.E., fresh; and during the remainder S., with some squalls and rain. The force of the wind never slackened all through the night, however.

22*nd* day:—Morning broke clear and with sunshine: the wind still blowing strong, from S.E. Mass was said early, and in the evening some onion and parsley seeds were sown, for these kinds had never produced anything yet. Nothing else occurred to-day. We had the wind at S.E., fresh, and some rain fell as the sun was setting. The same wind continued through the night, with squalls and heavy downpours at times.

23*rd* day:—Morning broke clear and with good sunshine, and a light air from S. Mass was said early. Some people from the gorge came with a lot of bunches of plantains, and some live birds to serve us as provisions by the way, for they knew that we were to set out on the morrow, for the place where Vehiatua was staying.

[1] *Cuculies*, a Peruvian colloquial term. The birds were probably fruit pigeons of the genus *Ptilopus* or *Carpophaga*.

There was no lack of the usual squabble between the seaman and the *Padres*, which is now a regular part of our Sunday routine; but it was all about nothing. At nine in the forenoon the wind freshened from S.E. A considerable lot of large fish of good kinds was brought in, caught with our net which had been mended on purpose. In the afternoon the remainder of the people who live up the gorge came with plantains, some eels, and *euros* for us, and a basketful of fresh fish as well. The night was clear and passed without rain, and the wind at S.E.

24*th* day:—We started on our way at daybreak, the wind being faint from S.W. We put in at the harbour we name the Virgin's, to take the cuddy on board that was to protect us from rain; and *Padre* Narciso made a present of a large chain-hook and a length of blue baize to the widow of the deceased *arii* Pahiriro, who succeeds him as *arii* of this district, in return for having given us the cuddy. It was in a pretty rickety state, however, though we managed to fix it up securely. We then took our leave of her and proceeded on our way towards the district of *Afayiti*, where I landed in order to join the party who were to carry the canoe overland across the pass they call *Taravao*: *Padre* Narciso following alongshore in the canoe until it arrived at that place. There, the natives were highly pleased, and showed great zeal over the manoeuvre, so that by mid-day they got us over to the opposite side of the island. They begged us to fire off a musket for their entertainment, with which we complied; and they went back happy.

The land hereabouts appeared to the *Padre* to be of good quality, despite his expert knowledge. We made a halt to enable the paddlers to eat their meal, as well as to cook for ourselves; and some rice being prepared caused amusement to the natives, whose curiosity bored us. Here we left the cuddy we had brought and took another better one; and as we proceeded on our way, we heard

that Vehiatua was now, with the *arii* Otù and all those about him, in the district called *Guayuriri*, whither he had gone this very morning from that of *Guayari* where we had expected to find him. By dint of vigorous paddling we reached *Guayuriri* at sunset. We put down the distance travelled from *Ohatutira* to this place as ten leagues, a little more or less. We went to where Vehiatua was accommodated and found him somewhat enfeebled in flesh and in strength, for his health was not yet thoroughly re-established. Seated in his canoe-cuddy he received us with much kindness, but in low spirits at not being with us at *Ohatutira*. After conversing awhile, he directed a hog to be given to the people whom we brought, which they consumed between the six of them. He told us he understood that we wanted to break up a craft they call a *pahi*, built after the method of a piragua, because, he had been told, the shed under which she was kept obstructed our light; but we convinced him that he must not believe such things of us. Nevertheless he said he would have the shed in question pulled down when the frigate should arrive, inasmuch as our house could not be properly seen, owing to this shed standing in front of it. And this in fact he did, although we told him there was no need to. We gave him some fried fish and biscuits, which he shared with his brother; and we supped in the aforesaid canoe-cuddy belonging to Vehiatua, in some discomfort from the throng of people around us. He ordered his people to place our cuddy alongside of his for the night, and they did so; and thus we slept, without incident of any kind.

25*th* day:—We were awakened at break of day by the clamour of people wanting to look at us. Just then I saw something like a flash strike downwards out of the sky, which they declared was their God called *Eatua*. I tried to dissuade them from this error by explaining what it was, but there was no way of proving my words; all the same some stars did appear when this happened.

We intimated to Vehiatua that we were about to return to *Ohatutira*, as we had not come for any other object than to visit him, and to ask him at the same time to allow us to cut some timber for the house, for it was all worm-eaten and we were hourly expecting to see it fall to the ground. He begged us to put off our departure until the next day, but as this was not acceded to he said that in the course of ten days or so he would have concluded his leave-taking with Otù at *Papara* (where Vehiatua's territories attain their limit) and that then he would come and make such arrangements as might suit us. If not, then I was to go to the aforesaid district for him, and he would make my coming the occasion for parting from the *arii* Otù at once, in order to return with me to *Ohatutira* himself. I tried to see the *arii* Otù, but did not succeed in doing so, as much because his quarters were some little distance away from Vehiatua's as by reason of the vast crowd that impeded me, for all the Chiefs of the island were now assembled in this district of *Guayuriri*, fearing some fresh outbreak in *Papara* against Vehiatua. He gave us two live hogs and some native cloth for the paddlers, and he directed one of his henchmen to come with us to order the people who were at the ingress of the road across *Taravao* to haul our canoe over from thence to any point we might wish. We fired off two musket-shots [for their entertainment] as Vehiatua told us his people had begged for it; and with that we bid him good-bye, leaving him very disconsolate at our departure.

When we had gone on a little way along the road some people who were fishing thereabouts gave us a goodly lot of fish of choice quality; and we rewarded them with some coloured beads of the clouded sort, with which they were pleased. We had a fresh breeze from S.E., which was a head wind for us; and the natives, finding that they made but little way with the paddles, decided to lead the canoe along by hand in the shallow water near the beach until we got near the head of the *Taravao* inlet, where the

wind was less. Then, taking to their paddles again, we soon reached the place where canoes are hauled overland for a little more than half a league from the one side of the island to the other in order to shorten the journey, which is where the people were to be called up to transport ours. I landed, together with the henchman whom Vehiatua had given me for this purpose, and on notifying the head men of the locality they cheerfully complied, and collected all their people, so that by the time the sun was setting we were already on the opposite coast, where, it being now nightfall, ourselves weary, and the men tired out from paddling, we stayed. Some rice was cooked, besides fish and fruit for the men, such as they are accustomed to depend on for their sustenance. We passed the night without rain or incident of any kind: this *terrain*[1] being conterminous with Vehiatua's lands.

26*th* day:—Day dawned clear and calm; but the wind presently set in from N. with rain, and therefore we did not make a start until the weather cleared up. The Chief in this district gave us some coconuts for the men who were to paddle. The weather having become fair and the wind having slackened we set out; but when a little more than a league on our way the wind shifted into the S.E., blowing fresh, with showers, which obliged us to make for the shore again, as this was a head wind for us and the canoe was continually shipping seas. The place where we put in was opposite the big house belonging to the *arii* of the district of *Afaiti*, who did not happen to be at home; they looked after us, however, with provisions for the crew, and we set some rice on to cook for ourselves at the same time. But, in the meanwhile, the weather calmed down, and therefore we decided to start again as soon as the cooking should be done with; and this we did, though, when the cooking *was* finished and we *did* start, the wind freshened up again. We went on nevertheless, in spite of

[1] *i.e.* Afaahiti district, near its border.

it, and of a choppy sea that put us in some danger. We reached "Puerto de la Virgen," where we made another halt, both on account of the lateness of the hour and because we were tired and had nothing to eat. We were welcomed with food for the men and fish for ourselves, as the lady of the deceased *arii* Pahiriro was expecting us; and we passed the night there without incident.

27*th* day:—It dawned clear and with a light air from the S.E., and we set out at once for *Ohatutira*, which lies a league or so from this. On arrival we found nothing new except that the seaman they left with us was somewhat unwell, with a running at the eyes.

The story of our travels was related to *Padre* Geronimo. In the afternoon we made a bonfire of all the rockets, as they would not go off; and even this was not sufficient to explode them.

We had very short-lived airs of wind from S.E. during the day, and all passed a bad night through the seaman having become worse with his running, in consequence of having taken a bath and committed other follies very far from prudent or suitable to his condition. A warm bath was now given him; and we had no rain at all.

28*th* day:—It dawned clear and there was a light air from the S.E. A fowl was killed to make a stew for the sick man, who had awakened somewhat the better of his pain. The people who live up the gorge came to enquire for particulars of how Vehiatua was faring; and we gave them a full account of him. The fisherman brought us some fish from our net, red mullet and *palonietas*; and we had it quite calm all day, so that we felt the heat greatly. The night passed in similar fashion, without rain.

29*th* day:—It dawned clear and with a light air from the S.W., but this did not last long.[1] and levelled the ground in the fore-court. A present consisting of five lengths of yellow baize was given to the men who had gone

[1] A short blank occurs in the MS. at this point.

with us to where Vehiatua was staying. The first pair of young birds were hatched by our pigeons. The seaman got better of his running at the eyes. We felt the heat very much, through there being a dead calm. The night was calm throughout, the sky clear, and without rain.

30*th* day:—It dawned clear, and there was a light air from the S.E. Mass was said early. They gave us some fish in the afternoon; and nothing particular occurred. The day continued calm, and the night was free from rain.

MONTH OF MAY

1*st* day of this month:—It dawned clear and calm. Mass was said early. The stump of a palm that was in the forecourt was rooted out: and when the job was finished we had a short shower of rain. A comb was given to each of the natives [employed]. In the afternoon I went into the gorge in quest of plantains, and they gave me four bunches, as well as three large eels and two live birds. We felt the heat very much, owing to its being calm. The night was clear and without rain.

2*nd* day:—Morning broke clear and calm. The natives were told to tidy up two pathways, one on the side leading towards the stream, and the other towards the sea where it is opposite to our house; and when it was done some glass beads and a small nail were given to each of them. A palm was cut into logs to make a stile at the gateway that leads into the kitchen-garden. Of the seed maize that we had planted none came up, owing, from what we could make out, to its being perished. The natives had therefore given us some, out of what they obtained from the frigate, and to-day we saw some of this growing. Some rain fell, in showers only and without any wind. In the night thirty-six rats were killed, inside a barrel of chick-peas. There was neither wind nor rain.

3*rd* day:—Mass was said before daylight. There was a faint air from E., but it did not last long: the sky clear.

Work went on at the stile for the gateway into the kitchen-garden. They brought us some bunches of plantains and live birds from the gorge of which the name is *Ataroa*. The stile was completed during the afternoon, and a length of country long-cloth was given to each of the natives who had worked at it. Towards evening I went out to the point, where a light air from the eastward could now be felt. At sunset I went home. Twenty-nine rats were killed at night in a barrel of chick-peas; and a little while later we turned to again and killed thirty-one more in the same barrel. The night passed in calm [weather] and without further incident.

4*th* day:—Mass was said before daybreak; and it rained, with the wind at S.S.W., which, however, did not last long. Some of the people from the gorge of *Ataroa* came, bringing plantains and two live birds. In the afternoon I went to see the fisherman, to get him to bring us some fish on the morrow, as *Padre* Narciso was wishing to go to *Tayarapu*[1]. I came home at sunset, and brought some fish. A hundred and eleven rats were killed during the first part of the night, in three batches, all of which were inside a barrel of tools and implements. There were showers during the day, and the wind was from N.W., occasionally N. The first part of the night and all the remainder was rainy, and the wind faint and variable, with thunder.

5*th* day:—The morning broke cloudy all round, with heavy rain and thunder, and occasional light airs from N.W. and S. We began, at middle-day, to eat a water-melon that had grown on the opposite side to where we lived, and which weighed half an *arroba*. The land there is not ours, but belongs to her who was Vehiatua's lady, named Otautiti. All the zapallos of our sowing ran to leaf, and bore no fruit. I went with *Padre* Narciso to

[1] Tayarapu here means only the district about Vaiurua which used to be so called; the name is now generally applied to the whole of the lesser peninsula of Tahiti.

"Puerto de Santa María Magdalena[1]," where the first expedition anchored, to procure bamboos. We arrived in the afternoon and the captain or *tohoa*[2] who was there promised us that so soon as the weather should mend he would cut them with his people and send them forward to *Ohatutira*. A large chain-hook and a piece of country long-cloth were given him. We stayed in this district to sleep: there was rain throughout the day, and a light wind from N.W.; and in the evening S.E., faint. The first part of the night was fine; the remainder brought wind-squalls from the N.W. with showers.

6*th* day:—It broke clear, and the wind at N., strong: so that we did not start from *Tayarapu* until ten o'clock, by the sun, the wind being contrary. We managed to get off, but when we had travelled a little more than a league a squall of wind struck us so suddenly that, owing to the cuddy, we were driven over a reef without being able to steer clear of it, and we thought the canoe would have been smashed by the force of the surf and the violent lurches she gave; but as the men with us were smart fellows they made it the more easy to save the canoe, though one of them got his leg hurt. We told them to remain here with the canoe until the weather should moderate, and then to follow on to their destination; but they were averse to this, saying that they would leave the canoe at this place and walk on with us (for we had decided, *Padre* Narciso and I, to go forward by land, because we had to hear Mass), but that if not so, then they would proceed straight on with the canoe, if we had no objection. So they were told to go on even at the risk of damaging the canoe, as they did not wish to leave us unattended, for they bore themselves with great loyalty and concern for our welfare. We proceeded by land until after seven at

[1] *i.e.* Vaiurua.

[2] The MS. has "el capitan Otojoa"; but it is obvious that "el capitan ó tojoa" (*i.e. toa*) was meant, *toa* denoting his profession as a warrior, not his personal name.

night, and then, observing that the bad weather had in some measure calmed down, we shouted to the canoe men to bring her inshore, where they arrived very woebegone and greeted us warmly. They very gladly took us on board and we reached *Ohatutira* at eight o'clock at night, a little more or less; where we found nothing new at all.

The night passed with thunder, lightning, rain, and the wind squally from N.W.

7th day:—It broke clear and with fine weather: the wind S., light. Mass was said early. I started after mid-day in a canoe for the district of *Afaaiti* to look about for a house for Vehiatua's mother, which she had asked me to do, some days before, through one of his serving men; and believing that Vehiatua was now near there, on the other side of this district of *Afaaiti*, I took six eggs with me for him, that he had asked *Padre* Narciso for when the latter went to visit him at *Guayuriri*, and two more eggs for his step-father Titorea, and two for Taitoa, who is his confidential henchman. I reached *Afaaiti*, but on my asking whereabouts Vehiatua might then be they told me he was at *Guayari*. So I decided to go on and see him, quitting the canoe here to cross over by land to the other side [of the isthmus], which is the track they call *Taravao*. I walked until nightfall, and finding there was no canoe on the other side to take me over the sea-lagoon that is in that part, I was obliged to spend the night at this same *Taravao*, together with the natives of my party: the which we passed without incident, though with some short showers but no wind at all.

8th day:—I proceeded at daybreak as far as a little creek where canoes going and coming between *Taravao* and *Guayari* stop; and embarked in one of them for the opposite shore; I reached *Guayari* at about eight o'clock in the morning, and found Vehiatua very much pulled down in health, so that he had to be supported at the back when he wished to sit up. He welcomed me in tears, and motion-

ing me to say how I thought him, I told him that his condition was of his own choosing, since he had not attended to our counsels that we had given him at *Guayuriri*. Seeing which, he nevertheless asked me to arrange what might seem best, and I advised him to come there and then to *Ohatutira*, where, by God's help, he would get better. He said he would do so on the morrow, and I replied that he should come now that same day: to which he consented. As it was necessary to procure help Vehiatua directed two of his servants to go [forward] and collect the people from each side of *Afaaiti* and *Taravao*, and, however late in the day it might be, to bring across my canoe that had been left on the far side. I desired Vehiatua's mother to summon together all the Chiefs in authority over the other districts of Vehiatua's rule, and when they had met I represented [the seriousness of] Vehiatua's condition to them, and said that it seemed to me fitting, on that account, that he should shortly proceed to *Ohatutira*, where we could minister to his needs; and to this they assented, each one calling his own people together. A light canoe-cuddy was procured for Vehiatua, that he might travel with less fatigue than in his own, which was large and not very light to carry, as the other one was; and the journey was performed as far as a stretch of land intermediate before coming to the *Guayuru* district, called *Oahotu*[1], not more than two short leagues distant. It was now late and Vehiatua was tired from the movement of the canoe, in spite of being paddled with a slow and measured stroke. My canoe arrived in the middle of the night; which Vehiatua passed in somewhat doleful lot, and the others without incident.

9th day:—It dawned clear and with something of a chill that is felt in this locality called *Oahotu*. Just as we were setting out for *Guayuru* there arrived from the *Papara* district some natives who had reached *Morea*[2] (an

[1] Now, and probably in Máximo's day, called Toahotu.
[2] Mo'orea, ten miles W. from Tahiti.

island near here) a few days previously, having been blown out of their course by the recent [strong] winds. But, after enjoying the good fortune to gain a place of safety at the said island, they were despoiled by its natives of everything they possessed, even to the very canoes they came in, and on this account they decided to take passage in the ones that go and come between *Morea* and this island of "Amat." Here they were well received and hospitably entertained, for Vehiatua's mother equipped them with large canoes to enable them to return to their own country, and they were only waiting for a N.W. wind, that they call *toherao*, to sail with. Their island is named *Matayba*[1], and lies farther away than *Matea*[2], so that we had no knowledge of it. They are swarthy and all tatu'd: their dialect is somewhat different from this, so that we could not understand some things [they said]. They appear a somewhat timorous people, for they showed a lack of spirit even in their dances, and are not so animated as our natives, who therefore made fun of them and were for mimicking their slowness. I made them a few presents of such trifles as I had by me, and talked with them of whatever I could think of; and they told me that they had never seen any ship, nor even heard of one by report. Their land is low, and water is got from pits. They say there are good pearls there and fish in plenty; but it yields little vegetable produce, having only yams, coconuts and

[1] Matahiva is the westernmost of all the atolls which collectively form the Tuamotu or Low Archipelago, being situated in lat. 14° 54′ S., long. 148° 40′ W. It is a well-wooded circular strip of low sandy land, surrounding a lagoon except where there is a boat passage into this on its northern periphery. It is only four miles in diameter and has no permanent inhabitants; but is visited at certain seasons by the natives of Tikehau. It bears from Matavai (Tahiti) N. 17° distant 162 miles.

[2] Here again Máximo evidently had Mehetia in mind, which he had seen and communicated with from the *Águila*, and which was under Vehiatua's sway, and lies 60 miles due E. from Tautira. These castaways, on the other hand, were undoubtedly quoting Ma'atea (locally Makatea), whose position is intermediate between Matahiva and Tahiti and which they would be certain to know by repute even if they had never visited it. *Cf.* p. 102, *note*.

plantains, and a few timbers also, such as some of those that are here. They have no animals except dogs; and among vermin rats, though few of them, and others not noxious. They practise the same rites and idolatry as the Tahitians, though they say there are some differences. They have no musical instruments other than the drum; and they say they are a mild-dispositioned people, though one may not affirm this with certainty, since here they are in a foreign land. I invited them to come to *Ohatutira*, and they readily accepted.

We reached *Guayuru* nice and early, and made a halt there until mid-day, that they might bring up provisions for all those who came in attendance on Vehiatua, as is customary in all his districts whenever he passes through them. In the meantime they presented before Vehiatua a number of boys, all oiled, wearing scarlet girdles and a kind of *sombrero* or face-shade made of palm leaf such as they use, and whom they designate *epori*, which means "fattened up[1]." This is because they are kept quiet within doors for some time without doing anything at all, nor even moving any part of their bodies, except to stuff themselves, as many times in the day as they are able to, with breadfruit paste which has been buried and which they call *opio*[2]. They lie there enveloped in wraps of native cloth, their waists unconfined by any girdle, until called up by their *arii*, when they put it on and say this word *Ehuapipi*, which is the day for this function; then, as soon as they have been inspected by their *arii*, all the people rush in amongst them in order to grab the girdle they cast off, for with this object they wear two[3].

[1] They appear to have been members of the confraternity of Arioi, perhaps novices for initiation, as the word *pipi* quoted a few lines farther on, means scholars or disciples.

[2] *Cf.* also *mahi* and *popoi*.

[3] This is a very inadequate description of an Arioi function. It is the more to be regretted that the supplement to the Diary was lost, as Máximo states in his Petition to the Viceroy: information on this subject is just one of the things one might have expected to find in it. See p. 8 and foot-note.

The *arii* of this district of *Guayuru* presented me with a good canoe-cuddy, and lengths of cloth. I got into conversation with the Chiefs, and the *arii* Oreti, who is from the district of *Ohitià*, told me that the French ship that took away the Indian named Outoru had left an anchor behind, as we had already heard from him when we went in the boat to examine his harbour; though we did not then learn—as this same Oreti now related to me—that the natives had afterwards recovered it. They employed, it seems, many large canoes, and some stout ropes twisted up on purpose for this job, and were busy weighing it a whole day and night, during which three canoes were swamped. From thence they made a present of the anchor to the *arii* of *Orayatea*, where they say it now is, being disappointed in their wish to forge tools out of it, as they found the iron hard[1].

As soon as all the provisions had been brought we proceeded onwards to the district of *Mataoae*, which is near; and there we remained for the night, as it was already late. We passed the night without incident, and Vehiatua felt a little better.

10*th* day:—It dawned clear and with fine weather; and I started alone with Vehiatua for the district of *Ayautea*, to take advantage of the smoothness of the sea for his comfort; leaving the rest of the company at the said district of *Mataoae* to receive the provision of eatables furnished in each district in the customary manner.

When we reached *Ayautea* the people greeted Vehiatua with much weeping at seeing him so prostrated, for he could not stand up. Then the *tahua* or priests of the place came to offer their *opure* or prayer in the *marae* where

[1] M. de Bougainville carried Turu to France in his ship *La Boudeuse* in 1768. She and *L'Étoile* lost six anchors and kedges off Hitiaa. The anchor recovered by the natives weighed 700 lbs., and was given to Puni, the noted Chief of Porapora who subjugated the greater part of Ra'i-atea. From Ra'i-atea it was conveyed to Porapora where, in 1777, Capt. Cook purchased the broken shank from Puni, minus the ring and palms [Bibl. no. 28, II, p. 129].

they worship, and the day and night were consequently passed without any fire being lit to cook with, as is the custom until the ceremony in the *marae* is concluded.

The rest of our people arrived in the evening from *Mataoae*, and the night was passed without incident, though there was much noise of drums in the *marae*, which is their way of invoking their God *Eatua*. There was not any rain at all, nor any wind.

11*th* day:—It dawned cloudy and with rain. Vehiatua was in rather a bad way, wherefore their *tahua* offered up a prayer in the sea, for his recovery, and deposited a number of plantain shoots all round his hut. He felt somewhat relieved later, as I succeeded in inducing a perspiration, though not without some opposition on the part of his attendants, because they say that in order to procure a descent of their God named *Eatua*, it is imperative that the fanning should go on in the house. The night passed without incident, except some short showers, and was calm.

12*th* day:—Cloudy at dawn and the wind in the N. When the wind slackened—for it was contrary—I proposed to Vehiatua that he should set out with me for *Ohatutira*, as it was already noonday. He seemed troubled at my coming, and told me that his *tahuas* or priests would not let him go, because his God *Eatua* had not appeared, in spite of some of their number having gone forth into other districts to invoke him until they should find him; and I was unable to gain him round from his error however much I tried to undeceive him. Being now near to the part they call *Tepari*, where it is laborious going, owing to the breaking seas and the shoal-patches, and the wind backing into the N. again at the same time, I was forced to put in at a place they call *Ahui*, belonging to the district of *Ayautea*, where I stayed the night—without incident, except that one of the Indians who had been paddling for me in the canoe began making motions as if terror-stricken, in the middle of the night, giving yells at the same

time, and meanwhile walking backwards towards the sea, pointing with his hand and making very vivid signs that he saw the *Tupapao* or apparition of the devil, according to his explanation. This caused me some alarm, since I was alone with the man, the rest of the crew having turned in in a hut some distance away from the beach. Nevertheless I did my utmost to impress a few Christian truths upon him, and fervently tried to restrain his frenzy; but seeing the imminent danger he was in from the approaching surf, I had to call out for the others to come to my assistance. Meanwhile I noticed a change come over my man, and when I called him by name he was unable to answer me, owing to the ecstatic condition into which the evil spirit had plunged him. Some of the natives who belonged to my following then came up, and when they saw what had happened, as I have just related, they yielded, though in some apprehension, to my efforts to make them understand that by being Christian believers they need have no fear. Nevertheless one of them came along with a plantain shoot and laid it at the feet of the one possessed, submissively begging the Evil One not to work any injury on him, nor on the others. Soon after this the man possessed burst out with an announcement that one of his mates had just died, here at this place. He declared this with so much fervour that I had to go with him and search out the hut he indicated. He made me cross several small streams, much to my discomfort, and when we got there the deception of the whole affair became obvious, for the occupants of the hut lay peacefully asleep, far from thinking anything about it[1].

13*th* day:—We started early in the morning for *Ohatutira*, and when near the haven of "Santa María Magdalena"

[1] Transient attacks of this character are of common occurrence in members of the Melanesian race; but less so, perhaps, in Polynesians of the Tahitian type. The visual hallucinations they suffer at such times are very vivid, and are accompanied as in the case Máximo relates with temporary delusions, ecstasy, tremors, muscular spasms, and sometimes cataleptic rigidity.

the wind set in from the N. again, which compelled us to put into *Irimiro*. I got word that Manuel was here, and after he had sought an opportunity through the Chief in this area to come and see me—to which I offered no objection—he arrived in tears, begging me that he might be pardoned. To this I replied that he was, for neither of us felt any rancour against him. He told me he had been to the island of *Teturoa*, which belongs to the *arii* Otù, and that he had come back from it because it did not seem to him a good place. He also told me that when the frigate should arrive he would go on board, and if they wished to take him to Lima he would go with pleasure (of which I have my doubts) because he was aware of the profit his parents must forego if he did not follow us. Hearing these explanations I put it shortly to him, "would he come back and live with us?" But he answered me "No!" he would only come and see me, but not at the house, because of the fear he felt of our people on account of the outrages they had committed against the natives. I made no reply to this; for I could but recognise some reason in what he said. The satisfaction I felt at seeing him caused me to spend a goodish while in conversation with him, for he remembered the regard, the good living, and comforts His Excellency had deigned to bestow on him, and the very different treatment he was now experiencing. So I willingly offered to do what I could for him in such circumstances as might arise, and he took leave of me with fresh tears, promising to come and see me at *Ohatutira*.

Here I arrived in the afternoon and found nothing new in particular. I reported to the *Padres* all that had taken place; and the night, which was fine, passed with a light air from the S. and without any squall.

14*th* day:—It dawned rainy. Mass was said in the morning. A breeze set in from S.S.W., but lasted only a short time: the remainder with a light air from S.E.: the night fine, and without incident.

15*th* day:—It broke clear and with a light air from S. and showers. We repaired a fence with some remnants of the bamboos they had brought that same day from *Irimiro* for the work on the outer court, so that the fowls could be let into it, and a small knife was given to each of the natives engaged at the job, who amounted to six in number and were at it until mid-day, when one side was finished: the other side being left over until some bamboos should arrive from *Tayarapu*. In the afternoon I went up the gorge intending to plant some flower-seeds, but I don't know whether they will grow, because although the soil is good it is the wrong season for sowing. The day was fine, there was no regular wind, and the night remained fine.

16*th* day:—It broke with rain; but it soon cleared up with a breeze at S. I rigged up an apartment inside a bamboo hut, in order to be screened from onlookers. A bed of capsicums was planted in a tub set on three plantain stems, so that the rats should not destroy the seeds as they did before. In the afternoon a messenger arrived from Vehiatua desiring me to go to *Taravao* on the morrow to procure some clay for the oven that we were wishing to get built. The messenger told us that he brought instructions with him from Vehiatua for all the people who owned large canoes to place them at our disposal for conveying the clay in question, for we knew it was of the right sort for the purpose. We had the wind at S.E. all day, light, and the night was fine.

17*th* day:—It dawned clear and in fine weather. I set out for the district of *Afaaiti* in the same canoe with Vehiatua's messenger, that he might communicate his *arii's* command to the people. We arrived betimes, and when the natives heard what has just been related they readily acceded, with seven double canoes, which I had told them would be enough. I returned to *Ohatutira*, where I arrived at sunset, having experienced heavy rain

and wind from S. Night set in calm and somewhat drizzly, with thunder, and lightning flashes over towards the N.W. quarter. The *Ohatutira* river became swollen, but burst through [into the bay] near the base of the hill over against the S.W., so that we were spared the sight of its overflow alongside our house[1].

18*th* day:—It dawned clear and with a light air from S. We sent off one of the natives to get them to bring us some bamboos, as the *Padres* wanted the garden fence to be a good close one. Word was brought me that Vehiatua intended to come to *Tayarapu* to offer a sacrifice to his God *Eatua*, and that he had given orders for a hut on one of the islets situated on the south side of the haven of "Santa María Magdalena" (alias) *Guayurua*, to be renovated, which is destined for his God; and also for another hut [to be prepared] for himself adjoining his *marae*, where he could live in seclusion (except during the office of prayer) with no more persons than just those who dwell there, or any who may happen to land for the purpose of fishing. The wind was N.W. all day, light: with showers: the night drizzly with light airs from S. and S.W.

19*th* day:—The morning broke overcast and drizzly. I went out in quest of fish and brought in what sufficed for us; nevertheless the fisherman went to shoot our net, which is only for large fish, and came in after dinner was over with a considerable lot, which we kept for the morrow. In the afternoon I went out to inspect the flower beds I had planted up the gorge, but could not observe anything coming up at all. They gave me two bunches of plantains. A woman ill of jaundice was brought before me for treatment, her relatives stating that her God was angry with her and that she had fallen ill in consequence. I told her that the remedy would be for her to amuse herself, and

[1] Máximo calls it the Ohatutira river, meaning the Vai-te-piha, which is the same. It still sometimes behaves in the manner described, during sudden floods. See also p. 118, *note* 2.

that she would then get better, for this sickness usually comes from melancholy; and with this they were satisfied.

Thirty-one chicks were hatched, by three hens. There was a faint breeze from the S. all day: the evening was somewhat thick, but the night fine, and calm.

20*th* day:—Morning dawned clear on all sides, and calm. One of Vehiatua's men came with the news that the reason why the people of the district of *Afaaiti* who were to bring clay from the locality called *Taravao*, for constructing our oven, had not come, was that they were occupied with the more pressing business of building a house for Vehiatua in the district of *Guayari*. There came to visit us from the district of *Atehuru*, in the jurisdiction of the *arii* Otù, the son of the deceased *arii* Pahairiro, of *Anuhi* or "Puerto de la Virgen," a boy of from ten to twelve years of age, who was very shy of us, having never seen us before. He is called Oteihiotù, which is to say "reared at the breast." Some small presents were given him and he went off happy. In the afternoon I strolled over to the fisherman's and he gave me a few coconuts. The wind was from S.E. during the day, and at sundown from S.: the night was clear and the sky like a mirror on all sides.

21*st* day:—Mass was said early. Day broke clear and calm. I went out up the gorge in quest of plantains, and sixteen of the natives came back with me laden with plantains of good quality, some eels, and two live birds; for which some glass beads of a blue colour were given them. After mid-day I went to visit a man who had come from the *arii* Otù's territory, and he related to me a story of the dread in which the frigate's people were held; but I exhorted him with arguments that they should put aside their fear. He gave me a few fresh scad. The weather was fine during the day, with no steady wind: and the night was still and rainless.

22*nd* day:—Morning dawned cloudy in some quarters and clear in others, and with a light air from S. Word

reached me that Vehiatua was soon coming; and, at the same time, news that one of the head men of the district of *Irimiro* was very ill. He was one who had always been ready to serve us, and whom we therefore held in esteem. So I ordered the double canoe with a cuddy to be got ready, and another better one with a bed and sheets and every detail, which elicited much friendly feeling on the part of the people when they saw how anxious I was about his welfare.

We experienced two drizzles during the day, with the wind at N.W., faint: the night was brilliant, and the wind at S., without incident of any kind.

23*rd* day:—It dawned clear with the wind at S.E. The head man or *tohoa*, named Tomahotutao, arrived and was accommodated in one of Vehiatua's houses in the manner stated. *Padre* Narciso went to visit him, and victuals were sent to him from our house. They gave me some bunches of plantains on this day: the fisherman brought us a little fish, but announced that he could no longer continue the fishing with our net, as he had another one belonging to his daughters, and that he would return ours to us on the morrow.

In the afternoon there was wind from the E. and the first part of the night from S., fresh. I went with *Padre* Geronimo to visit the invalid and give him his supper; he was already somewhat more cheery. The remainder passed without incident.

24*th* day:—It dawned clear and with wind from the S. The fisherman returned us the net, and we handed it over to another neighbour of ours. At mid-day some food was sent to the invalid, after a dose of oil of almonds previously given him to drink down. The wind hauled into the S.E. and blew fresh. Two Indians were sent out in quest of *evi*, to hang up the plantains by, and they presently brought some. In the afternoon *Padre* Narciso went out shooting, and returned in a little while with some ducks

and other birds. In the first part of the night the wind shifted to S.W.; the invalid was visited and confessed himself better. The remainder passed without incident.

25*th* day:—Mass was said, and the morning broke cloudy but calm. The new fisherman brought us some fish; and there were some brief showers of rain. The Indians brought four *etoy* poles with which to rig up a staging or superstructure over our cooking-hearth to store our salt upon, for it kept constantly melting. There were some light airs stirring, towards evening, from S. and S.E.; and the fisherman came again with some more fish. We passed the night without incident.

26*th* day:—Morning broke rainy and with a strong wind from S.E. The invalid was again given some oil of almonds to swallow. An Indian brought us two poles of the timber they call *etoy*, and in the afternoon a canoe came in from the district of *Afaaiti* with clay from *Taravao* to build the oven with. One of the hogs that came from Lima was slaughtered. The day passed with rain and it blew hard from the S.E.; and at night from S., fresh.

27*th* day:—At daylight it was raining, and blowing hard from the S.E. The invalid was found to have improved, and they gave me several bunches of plantains. There was no rain during the rest of the day, but the sky remained clouded and the wind held. The night passed without rain.

28*th* day:—It dawned clear in parts, and the wind was from S.E., fresh. Mass was said early. I went into the gorge in quest of plantains for the pigs. An improvement was observable in the weather, and in the afternoon I went over to where the fisherman was and he gave me some scad he had by him. The night was fine.

29*th* day:—It dawned clear and calm. One of the natives belonging to the island of *Morea*, who had worked for us in the house at one time, came and presented us with a hog

and some shell-fish. There also came along the natives from whom we had ordered reeds to finish the fencing with; but having brought no more than one bundle apiece, as the reeds grow on a hill-top laborious to reach, by reason of its height, the seaman who is in our company got cross with the men, because he wanted them to bring the whole five bundles, that still remained for each man to supply, in a single day. To this they answered that they would complete the job in five days by bringing a bundle apiece each day: for they were knocked up with fatigue. We others all assented to that, and therefore *Padre* Narciso, seeing the folly of the seaman, told him in a good-natured way to let it rest at that. But the man had no manners, and though orderly before, he [now] began to sulk and said, among his other plaints, that he wished to go out. He went, thereupon, and returned at mid-day without giving us any explanation whatever: he took his meal with us, and as soon as we had finished he picked up a bag he had with clothes in it and went off at two o'clock without saying a word. The men who had brought the reeds set to work to repair the fence, and completed a large part of it; and afterwards some others came in with more reeds. The seaman returned at sundown and took his supper without accounting for himself in any way whatever. There were light airs from the S.E. during the day, and also from E.; the night fine, and without incident.

30*th* day:—Mass was said early, the morning dawned clear and calm. The seaman went off again. The fisherman brought us some fish, and a piece of baize was given him as a present. One of Vehiatua's servants who lives up the gorge came and told us that the seaman was lodging in his house, and that he had set apart another small hut for him, by the man's request—wherefore he was feeling afraid of us. We urged him to lay aside his fear, since there was no reason for it. The seaman came back from thence at mid-day, and we called him to dinner. He obeyed,

and, when he had finished, lay down to take a nap; but, believing this to be only a trick by which he hoped to carry off anything he could, we were careful not to lose sight of him, and when he awoke he went off again until sunset, when he returned. I represented to him what a good thing a reconciliation with the *Padres* would be for him, but I got no result out of him except a taste of his ill humour; yet, notwithstanding some heated arguments we had, he was invited to supper with us and accepted without ado, and conversed with everybody quite civilly.

There were light airs from the S.E. during the day, and the natives brought some bundles of reeds. On this same day our pigs broke through the fence into the kitchen-garden, and amongst other minor damage they did they ate up all the stalks of maize that had grown from the seed we had obtained from local plots. The night was fine, the sky bright, and it passed without incident.

31*st* day:—It dawned clear and calm. The fisherman brought us some fish, of which we fried a portion to send to Vehiatua together with some eggs, as we had news that he was now at the little islet that lies near the haven of "Santa María Magdalena." The seaman left the house and never returned until mid-day after dinner had been done with. He was indulgently received, and, after calling him aside, I told him gently that *Padre* Narciso was wishing to go and visit Vehiatua and that he should therefore, for his own good, try to behave well. This, however, bore no fruit, for he was still very far from having reverted to reason; but after several warnings had been given him he quietened down, stipulating that he should not have to cook for me, to which I begged the *Padres* to agree for the sake of everybody's peace and comfort. A large portion of the house was re-walled, the old stuff being pulled down and the new fitted together so closely that no space was left, even where only a rat could get through.

Padre Narciso told me to order the canoe to be got

ready for us to travel in to-morrow morning to where Vehiatua is now staying; but the natives informed me that, on the morrow, no person would be at liberty to paddle, nor might any one travel by land either, nor light any fire, in any of the districts pertaining to Vehiatua; because he would be engaged in worship at the above-mentioned islet named *Evaiotihi*[1], which is dedicated to the service of his God *Eatua*. And he said, further, that a man was to be killed for a sacrificial offering, and consequently one might only paddle until sunset to-day. I communicated this to the *Padre*, and he decided that we should start at once, and that the work of re-walling should stand over until our return. We took the invalid with us, for he was now well, and reached the district called *Irimiro* after the sun had gone down, where we were made welcome by the father and mother of our patient with much feeling and weeping, and gratitude for the kindness we had shown him. Vehiatua then got notice that we were here, by our firing two musket-shots, in order that they might come for us, as the course is rather difficult owing to shoals in the way. Vehiatua therefore sent a canoe to guide us, and we set out. On arrival we proceeded to his cuddy, where we found him much prostrated by his illness. He welcomed us with much affection and tenderness: after a long conversation we asked him for permission to cut some timber, for our house was in danger of collapsing, through the posts having become worm-eaten, and he granted it and gave us[2] of the good kinds of timber. We gave him the fried fish, and some biscuits, which he ate at once. The night passed with fine weather, and without incident.

[1] Vai-o-tihi appears to be a stream at the extreme Eastern end of Tahiti, a mile or so south of Vaiurua; the islet itself was probably Fenua-ino, situated on the reef opposite to the Vai-o-tihi. There are three tiny islets there. *Cf.* vol. II, p. 327, *note* 1.

[2] There may be a word lacking in the MS. here—perhaps *cuenta*, or *lista*—but no blank has been left. Or perhaps the word *enorma* is written in mistake for *norma*. The passage reads "dandonos la enorma de las maderas buenas."

JUNE

1*st* day:—It broke clear and calm. A mattress, a pair of small baize sheets, and a double blanket were given to Vehiatua, as they were suitable for his illness on account of there being pains; and this made him very pleased. To us he gave a little sucking-pig, ready baked after their method of cooking, for us two; and the half of a large hog similarly dressed, for the natives who had paddled our canoe. We then told Vehiatua that we should like to go, since it was not permitted to kindle fire while his prayers, or *opures* as they call them, were going on in the *marae* or cemetery that exists in this islet, devoted to his God called *Eatua*.

Not one woman was met with in the precincts, for they have no place in these functions nor is their presence tolerated at them; but all the Chiefs of the provinces pertaining to Vehiatua were there.

Just then, it happened that one of the natives, into whose body it was alleged the God *Eatua* had entered, rushed violently out of his cuddy with a stone in his hand. *Padre* Narciso was observing the quality of the soil at the moment, and had his eyes turned when this person approached him with his stone; but the natives, fearing that an act of homicide was about to be perpetrated against the *Padre*, laid hold of the man—though by that time the former was standing on the defensive with a knife he carried. I ought to mention that I, meanwhile, had remained with Vehiatua discussing the continual *opures* or prayers that were being offered up in his several districts; and when I pointed out that the only result of it all was that the *tahua* or priests were using up his pigs, yet that no improvement in his condition was observable, he seemed to ponder over this and said he would presently come to *Ohatutira*. Just then the inspired person came on the scene in a passionately excited state and they immediately provided a seat for him, that he might blurt out the

tomfooleries that came into his head, before Vehiatua; for to the natives these were as an oracle. Vehiatua told me that this man became very terrible while the God continued in his body, and that no matter what he asked for, or did, it was all good, because inspired; and that therefore if any one opposed him such a person would die of some serious illness by the will of his God. I told Vehiatua he should soon see how much power he had, and on my calling out in a loud voice to them to bring me the musket, the inspired one made signs to me not to kill him: and on that I asked him where his power lay! But the others then begged me not to say anything more to him, lest it should cause Vehiatua's ills to become aggravated; and rather than displease them I desisted[1].

We then took our departure, not desiring to witness any more barbarisms, and passed over to the mainland, where we were welcomed by all the natives. The father of the Indian we had taken care of entertained us with a hog and a mess of *euro* and a small quantity of fish, after which we set out for *Ohatutira*, but made a halt at the haven of "Santa María Magdalena," to cook, as there were not many people there to get in our way. As soon as we had eaten we proceeded on our journey, and arrived at *Ohatutira* at four in the afternoon, without finding anything fresh at our home or in the village. We experienced a N^{ly} wind during most of the day, but at *Ohatutira* it was from S. The night proved fine, with a light air from S.S.W., without rain.

2nd day:—It dawned clear and with a breeze from the S. I took my ration apart, to avoid disputes with the seaman, for he had again become huffy and morose. What was left to be fenced, of the outer court, was done. I went in quest of fish for the *Padres*, and the natives gave me as much as there was need for. In the afternoon I went out

[1] Compare the *Padres'* account of this visit and incident, vol. II, pp. 327–8.

again, to procure plantains for the pigs, and they gave me some. The day passed in calm, and the night was fine, with a light air from S. and no rain.

3*rd* day:—It dawned somewhat cloudy, and calm. A great part of the house was walled in, nice and close. At mid-day, or a little before, the fisherman brought some fish. The *Padres* called me to give me a little dinner, when the seaman jumped up and told them he would not do any more cooking, if they gave it away to me. Upon this I objected to take what they had offered me; but on the *Padres* pressing me to do so I willingly accepted it. The walling-in went on until sundown: an opening was mended up to prevent the hens and cocks from getting inside through it. They gave me some bunches of plantains. It was calm and cloudy in the forenoon; later a fresh breeze set in from N., with showers. The first part of the night some wind from N.W. was experienced, but without any rain.

4*th* day:—It dawned cloudy, with the wind at S.S.W., and soon there came showers, with thunder: at mid-day the rain took off, and it cleared up a bit in the S.E. quarter during the afternoon. The wall was completed, and to the six natives who had been working at it there were given a piece of *Totuyo* cotton cloth and some glass beads, with which they were pleased. The fisherman brought us fish. In the first part of the night there were showers, and the wind was variable: the remainder with continual squalls and downpours of such force that we felt afraid the house would come down about our ears, the wind being so violent that it barely allowed the rain to descend. It blew from the E. and at times from the S.E.: no other incident occurred.

5*th* day:—Mass was said, and the dawn broke clear and calm. I noticed that the sea in the harbour was very still, and that the river, after all that had happened during the preceding night, had not risen. A man came at mid-day

with a message from the fisherman for me to go and look on at a partition of native cloth and hogs that was being conducted at a gathering of the people, and which they call a *taurua*, out of which function they presented me with three wraps and some pork cooked in their own manner, as my share. I got home again in the middle of the afternoon. The day was calm and cloudy throughout. In the evening Vehiatua arrived with his people, from the district of *Ayautea*, though we had not expected him for three days yet, according to information supplied to us by some of those who were in attendance on him. We went down to the beach to welcome him, where we found him in a considerable fever, on account of which we at once arranged for him to be carried in his own canoe-cuddy to a spacious and sheltered hut he owned close to our house, pending a further arrangement of things on the morrow. He let himself be accommodated thus, and we saw that the cough he had was severe, for it gave him no rest, so that the natives proved somewhat undesirable neighbours. I turned out in the middle of the night to go and see him, and I found him with two coconut shells full of a food they call *popoy*, which is very indigestible stuff. They tried to hide it from me, but in the end I undeceived them as to the harm they were doing, and they agreed to act in whatever way I might advise them. I called their attention to the many hogs that had been relegated to the *tahua* or priests, and the absence of any visible improvement in Vehiatua's condition; but they contented themselves with saying that their God *Eatua* was not relieving him. I then withdrew; there were some thunder-squalls [during the rest of the night] but it continued calm.

6*th* day:—Mass was said early. It dawned cloudy in parts and in others clear, and the river was somewhat swollen. Vehiatua's house and bed were arranged to afford him the best shelter practicable, and a pectoral was given to him for his chest, which he took without any ado. A

hen was killed for him, to make into a stew, for which he was grateful and presented us with a large hog. Some food was set before him and he showed no aversion to it but, on the contrary, took it with much relish. In the afternoon they gave us a lot of bunches of plantains for the pigs. Squalls were experienced in the course of the day, with rain, from the S.W., which caused the river to swell still more. At nightfall an egg-flip was mixed for Vehiatua, [flavoured] with cinnamon, which he took with some reluctance, because of its sweetness. The rest of the night passed with good moonlight: wind S., and sky clear as a mirror.

Wednesday, the *7th*:—It dawned clear and with the wind at S. Vehiatua, to whom we gave a pectoral draught, was better, and we prepared another stew of chicken for him. *Padre* Narciso shaved Vehiatua's favourite named Taytoa, which was much applauded by the natives. Some food was given to Vehiatua and he was not without appetite. In the afternoon the people from the gorge came with a quantity of plantains and native cloth for Vehiatua, of which he gave a portion to us. During the rest of the day it was calm, and the sky brilliant. At nightfall he was given some *mazamorra*, prepared in the Lima fashion, which he took without aversion, and when we retired to bed he had no fever at all. There was a good moon all night: wind S., and clear everywhere.

8th day:—It dawned clear and calm. I was rather unwell. Vehiatua awoke with some calenture, but a fair inclination for food, so that we gave him a little of the broth of the chicken stew that had been made for him. We received information that he had compromised himself as regards certain native delicacies, wherefore we made a show of being annoyed and told him we would take no further part in nursing him: but, hearing this, his mother came begging us to continue, since in the contrary event he would die or his recovery would be much delayed. A

beginning was made towards fixing up a sort of cock-loft, I mean a staging, over the cooking hearth, to store our salt on: as it kept continually melting. In the afternoon I prepared a little *quinua*[1] for Vehiatua to eat at supper time, and he liked it better than anything of the dietary we had previously given him. Some ointment of Buda balsam[2] was applied to his knees.

It remained calm all through the day, with bright sunshine; and at night we had light airs from the S., and a bright moon.

9*th* day:—It dawned clear and with the wind at S.S.W. There was no change observable in Vehiatua's condition: and he was given some chocolate, as it was a thing he was very fond of. The work of fixing up a staging for the salt was completed; and the fisherman brought us fish. Some chicken was given to him [Vehiatua] for his dinner; and in the afternoon the salt was put up on the staging. From noon until evening it was calm. He was given *quinua* for supper, also a fomentation of wine and anise to his legs; he had no fever at all. At night the wind was from S., clear everywhere and without rain.

10*th* day:—It dawned with a faint breeze from S.E., brilliantly clear all round; and Vehiatua was freer from pains. He was given some chicken for dinner. They brought some creepers[3] to mend the kitchen-garden fence with. The wind freshened about noon; and later on *Padre* Narciso went out shooting. Vehiatua was given rice for supper and he liked it. The *Padre* came back with some game. At nightfall the fomentation of wine and anise was repeated to his legs, and he had no fever at all. During the night there was wind from the S.W., fresh, which

[1] A well-known cereal cultivated at great elevations in the Andes of Peru. See vol. II, p. 95, *note* 3.

[2] The resin of *Pinus Pumilio* (Haenke).

[3] "Bejuquillos," diminutive of *bejuco*, a slender climbing cane or liana, whose pliable but tough stems are commonly used in tropical countries as lashings for reed work, bamboo fences, &c.

upset Vehiatua, and on his sending one of his people to call me I found him coughing somewhat and with a little fever; I afterwards retired.

11*th* day:—Mass was said early. A little syrup of violets[1] was given to Vehiatua, which made him sweat. Until mid-day the wind came from the S.W. The fisherman brought us some fish. Vehiatua got up, and was able to walk a little. After we had dined some double canoes started for *Taravao*, to fetch the clay that we had told Vehiatua was of a kind fit for building our oven. We pointed out to Vehiatua's mother how bad the fence of our kitchen-garden was, and she at once gave orders to one of her servants for the people to fetch some bamboos from the locality called *Tepari*, which is hers. We gave Vehiatua some rice for tiffin, and at the proper time we went over to him with the daily fomentation of tepid wine and anise; and nothing else noteworthy occurred. The wind was from N.W. during the afternoon; and we had a clear night.

12*th* day:—It dawned clear and calm. The parts of the kitchen-garden [fence] most in need of repair were attended to with some bamboos we had by us. Some chocolate was given to Vehiatua; and permission was accorded to his mother's sister[2] to come and look over our house. The canoes that had gone to *Taravao* for the clay for the oven arrived back. Vehiatua was given a wood-pigeon for dinner, which he had ordered to be brought. In the afternoon the Chiefs departed for their respective districts, as Vehiatua was now better of his illness[3]. Some light airs

[1] Of syrup of violets Gerarde says "There is a syrup made of Violets and Sugar, whereof three or foure ounces being taken at one time soften the belly and purge choler. Syrup of Violets is good against the inflammation of the lungs and brest, against the pleurisie and cough" and a dozen other ills [Bibl. no. 131, p. 852, G].

[2] This is the only mention made of Purahi's sister. It is a pity Máximo does not quote her name. If a full sister she will have been a daughter of Aroma-i-te-ra'i and Tetua-unurau (Amo's sister).

[3] It does really look as if the care bestowed on Vehiatua by Máximo and the *Padres* had availed him something, at this time

from S.E. were experienced during the day; and at night it remained calm, clear, and with a good moon.

13*th* day:—It dawned clear with the wind from S.W., faint. Some chocolate was given to Vehiatua, and he afterwards came across to our house with his mother, to tell us that a man of the *Mataoae* district had been arrested for trying to steal the things that Vehiatua had in the district of *Guayari*; in consequence of which he was killed by the servant in whose charge the things in question were. Vehiatua judged this well done, and directed them to have the deceased carried to the district of *Atehuru*, there to be buried opposite the *marae* or cemetery named *Tuputupuatea* that is in that place, and which is the senior one of all their *marae* in the island[1].

A person arrived from the island of *Morea* with orders from his *arii* to pick a quarrel, but he got no response whatever from the natives here.

The clay that had been brought from *Taravao* was carried to the river-bank to be moistened. The kitchen-garden was weeded by the natives, to whom some crystal beads were given. They gave us fresh fish; and in the afternoon *Padre* Narciso went out to shoot, but returned at sundown with nothing. From mid-day until evening the wind was from N.W., but it afterwards shifted to S.W.

14*th* day:—It dawned clear, and the wind was from the S., fresh. Some chocolate was given to Vehiatua, for the improvement in his health was continuing. There was a great gathering of people in connection with the function

but a Polynesian is quickly irked by the restraints of European treatment and precautions, and it is not improbable that the calamity which overtook this amiable young Chief a little later was accelerated by his reversion to native indulgences and his disregard of salutary advice.

[1] There was a charnel house of the first order adjoining the *marae* mentioned (properly *Taputapuatea*) to which all bodies of human sacrificial victims were consigned. Probably it was to that that the body of this thief was sent. The Memoir by M. de Bovis on *Maraë* is highly instructive on such matters. See *SUPPLEMENTARY PAPER* XVII (*a*) and (*h*), in this volume.

of presenting the fattened up youths before him, which they call *Ehuapipi*, as was said before[1]. I learnt on this day that there was in the possession of the *arii* Otù a bowl of black stone, constructed in the island of *Maurua*, and presented to the Chief of *Orayatea*, whence, on account of its singular workmanship, it had been sent over to the aforesaid *arii* Otù as a handsome present[2]. At mid-day the wind shifted to N. I got word that there was an anchor lying at the bottom of the roadstead they name *Arahero*, quite near to our station, and they say it would be easy to raise it, as the depth is not great: it is stated to be one from an English vessel which, not being able to ride there, owing to the heavy break and absence of shelter, was obliged to shift her berth to the bay of *Matabay*[3]. During the night there was a breeze from S.E., fresh; and about the middle of it I was called up to go to Vehiatua, whom I found suffering a severe paroxysm of coughing, and fever; but it passed off after giving him a little compound syrup of chicory[4], by means of which he was induced to sweat and became better, though the wraps he was swathed in proved a great ordeal to him to bear.

15*th* day:—It dawned with the wind at S.W., blowing fresh. Mass was said; and we dressed Vehiatua's little

[1] See p. 135. [2] See *postea*, July 10*th*, etc.

[3] *Cf.* p. 94 (*note* 2) where *Araheno* was as clearly written in the MS. as *Arahero* is in the present case. The anchor was one of three that saved H.M.S. *Adventure* from destruction on the night of August 16th, 1773, and were slipped by her when the land breeze came off and wafted the ship clear of the danger [Bibl. no. 29, vol. I, pp. 144–6; and no. 40, vol. I, pp. 260–2]. The *Resolution* also slipped a bower on the same occasion, but it was recovered by her own people a few days later. Máximo's account suggests that the natives thought the ships brought up at *Araheru* by design—which was very far from being the case!

[4] Of garden chicory (*Cichorium Intybus*, Linn.), which Gerarde calls "Succorie" and associates closely with endive, the Herbal says, "these herbs when they be greene have vertue to coole the hot burning of the liver, to helpe the stopping of the gall, yellow-jaundice, lacke of sleepe, stopping of vrine, and hot burning feuers. A syrup made thereof and Sugar is very good for the diseases aforesaid" [Bibl. no. 131, p. 284].

brother named Guatupua[1] in a suit of worn clothes that Manuel had left: their mother was very pleased with this attention; and they sent us some fresh fish.

Padre Narciso was rather unwell; and in the afternoon I walked with the aforenamed *arii*, Vehiatua's brother, wearing his new clothes, to the neighbouring district called *Ahui*, which caused the people much enjoyment. I reached *Ohatutira* again at sundown, and was met by the information that the seaman had been asking *Padre* Geronimo for something to eat, for no other reason than to raise a quarrel and annoy the *Padres*, since everything is at his disposal and command, and he is as it were absolute master of it all, and cheats them of what they give. I prepared some tiffin for Vehiatua, who had no fever at all. The remainder passed without incident, and a light air from the S.

16*th* day:—It dawned clear and calm. A digestive of compound syrup of chicory was given to Vehiatua. He gave us a little pork cooked after their fashion; a meal was sent to him at mid-day. In the course of the afternoon we missed five little chicks, that must have got out through a hole we saw in the fence. Some palm branches were pulled off to help protect the salt from rain. There was a calm all day, and it was fine during the night, the sky bright and still calm.

17*th* day:—Two ounces of *magna* were given to Vehiatua dissolved in water as a purge, in the very early morning. A *puchero* made from a hen that he supplied was set apart for him: a pigling of our breed was given him as a present.

[1] There is no *g* in Tahitian. *Gua* in Spanish is, or rather used to be, equivalent to *Hua*. This name of the boy, a purely personal one, may have been O Atupua, or Huatupua, or something like that. The *Padres* mention him in their Diary, on June 23*rd*, as Natagua (*teste* Muñoz' transcript), but in *El Viagero Universal* it is printed Natapua. At this time he was only eight or ten years of age. When he was formally installed in succession to Vehiatua a few months later he was called Tetua-ounu-maona, and assumed the dynastic titular name Vehiatua-i-te-Mata'i.

A great number of people were seen who came from the district of *Ahuy* to present native cloth, hogs, and other eatables. One of the strangers from the island of *Matayba*[1] visited us, and let us know about four large pearls, of good quality according to his statement, of which the *arii* of the district of *Guayuru*, named Tuivivirau, had fleeced him.

The surplice, that had been stolen without our knowing how nor when, was recovered: but only through Vehiatua's action. The purge did him much good. During the day the wind was from S.E., faint: the weather continued fine through the night. At two in the morning or thereabouts one of the natives was seen breaking through by way of the kitchen-garden into where the fowls were [roosting], and *Padre* Geronimo, becoming aware of it through the noise the hens made, called out. We ran out just as we were, to the rescue, but were unable to catch him. We searched all round the place but could find no clue to his hiding place, nor to what he may have stolen.

18*th* day:—It dawned clear and with the wind from S.E., fresh. Mass was said, and on walking over to where Vehiatua was I found no change; but he told me he knew who had been the thief that stole the fowls, and wished me to ask for them without seeming to be aware of the author of it. I did so, and the person in question confessed his guilt to me, but also implicated one of Vehiatua's serving men, begging me at the same time not to tell this to Vehiatua nor the *Padres* either: which request I complied with, and he went to fetch the fowls, for he had got them in the district of *Afaaiti*. Some chocolate was given to Vehiatua. Some bamboos were brought, and a portion of the kitchen-garden fence was repaired with them where it was bad.

A dancing festival or *heyba* was got up for Vehiatua. A hen went a-missing; it was the same that the thief had

[1] Matahiva: see p. 134.

carried off before, as she had since been tied up and was therefore the more ready to hand. Every part where the rain could wet our salt was covered over with mats of plaited coconut leaves. They returned me two out of the five fowls that had been stolen, both in a stinking condition, as they had been killed at the time they were taken. Another dancing performance was enacted before Vehiatua, different from the morning's one. He gave me a large quantity of native cloth. There was a fresh breeze from the S.E. all day, and at night from S., the sky bright. Vehiatua's friends learnt who had been the thief; and on my asking the *arii*, in the presence of one of the *Padres*, what punishment he proposed to award the man, he desired me to keep silent and not enquire. His favourite Taytoa afterwards unravelled the mystery to me, saying that Vehiatua wished the transgressor to be killed, his eyes to be gouged out and served up as an offering in the *marae* he owns in the district of *Papara*, which cemetery is called *Tuputupuatea*[1], and his body to be thrown into the sea with a stone to make sure that it would sink. I communicated this to the *Padres*, and they told me to step across very early on the morrow and beg on their behalf that the punishment might be commuted to a light sentence of banishment, for which, if acceded to, they would be thankful to him. About midnight it appeared to us that thieves had got into the loft, but it was only our fancy.

19*th* day:—It dawned clear and the wind continued from S.E., fresh. Vehiatua sent for me and presented the hen, without giving me any hint of the punishment he had wished to impose on the thief; but in regard to the commutation of sentence that he had conceded on our account he decided that the banishment we had proposed for the man should take effect, and we felt grateful for

[1] There were several *marae* called Taputapuatea. Whether the one here referred to was really in Papara, or whether Máximo misunderstood it so instead of Atehuru or Punaauia, is not clear.

his attention. Some people came to renew the fence of the kitchen-garden, and brought a good lot of bamboos.

The one who acts as elder in our household[1] was called upon to advise the head of the thief's family to come and interview us, when we lectured him soundly on the subject of his crime. At mid-day I went out in quest of some braided esparto cord[2] and I returned in the afternoon with what I wanted. The wind was from S.E. during the day, fresh; and the first part of the night from S., faint, with rain. Some calabash balsam was rubbed into Vehiatua's legs, and then into his knees: a dressing of frog plaster was applied[3]. And we passed the remainder without incident.

20*th* day:—It dawned clear and with the wind from S.E., not very fresh. Some chocolate was given to Vehiatua, in whom no change was observable, and at mid-day some dinner. They came to fence, and then I set out for "Puerto de la Virgen" to cast about for a canoe-cuddy, for *Padre* Narciso had a mind to travel round the island. When I got there I was welcomed by the two *arii* of the districts of *Guayuriri* and *Atimaono*, who had come with a number of canoes in their convoy to visit Vehiatua, and to do honour to his recovery, of which they had heard, with a dancing festival. They presented me with several pieces of native cloth, and a mat of fine texture; and, on my declining acceptance of these gifts because I had nothing with me to make return with, they

[1] Several passages in the Diary seem to point to *Padre* Narciso as occupying a position relatively senior to *Padre* Gerónimo's. Perhaps he was older in years, or ranked before the other in the College at Ocopa from which they both came.

[2] By this he must have meant sennit, braided of fibres of the coconut husk, which supplies the natives' ordinary ligature.

[3] The leaflets of an American calabash tree, *Jacaranda procera* (Spreng.), yield an aromatic resin in considerable quantity, whose active principle is called carobin. This may have been the "balsamo de Calavaza" mentioned by Máximo. But more probably it was tolu, which is collected in gourds or calabashes, from incisions in the bark of *Myroxylon toluifera* (Linn.), and used to be accounted a useful remedy, or else balsam of Calaba, otherwise María.

wrapped them round me with their hands. I returned home, where I arrived when it was almost sunset. An inunction of calabash balsam was given to Vehiatua, in the evening; and the remainder of the night passed without incident.

21*st* day:—It dawned clear and with the wind from S., faint. I consented to Vehiatua eating some of their own victuals: the dancing festival was resumed, and he was present at it on foot. In the afternoon a number of people from the *arii* Otù's lands paid their respects to Vehiatua. It was a calm day, and in the evening the inunction of calabash balsam was repeated for Vehiatua. There was then a light air from S.S.W., bright heavens all round.

22*nd* day:—It dawned clear and with a faint breeze from the S. A large number of people from the *Guayuriri* district arrived to entertain Vehiatua with sports, as a consequence of which there was a great riot and turmoil, and we were obliged to keep in-doors on our guard against anything that might happen. Vehiatua's mother came to us in tears begging me to get her son away out of the uproar, which I succeeded in doing. The wind set in from the S.E., and I directed them to lead him back into his house when the wrestling-matches came on, called by the natives *taurua mahona*. In the afternoon the two *arii* of *Guayuriri* and *Atimaono* were permitted to come into our house with their ladies. During the day the wind was from the S.E., and the first part of the night S., with rain. Later on the rubbing with calabash balsam was repeated for Vehiatua; nothing new occurring.

23*rd* day:—It dawned bright and with a light air from the S. The fisherman brought us some fish. Some chocolate was given to Vehiatua, in whom was no change, though he was more cheerful, at which they wondered much. A portion of the fence round the kitchen-garden where it was in a fair way to fall was re-set. An uncle of Vehiatua, who was ill, came to be treated. There was a dancing

entertainment. In the afternoon a reconciliation took place and peace was restored, after a wrangle which had taken place between the *Padres* and Vehiatua, at mid-day, because he had not given *Padre* Narciso the concave stone seat after the latter had succoured him in his illness[1]. The said *Padre* went out shooting later on and returned with a duck. The wind was from S.E. during the day, fresh; the night clear and with the wind S.

24*th* day:—Mass was said. The day broke clear, the wind S., fresh. They got up a cock-fight[2]. Some chocolate was given to Vehiatua; and some gargles were compounded for his relation, who had come from the district of *Atehuru* ill of an inflammation in the throat, which he took. Two uncles of Vehiatua were allowed admission [to the Mission house]. There was no regular wind all day; but a light air from the S. sprang up during the night, and it was as clear as a mirror all over.

25*th* day:—Mass was said. Day broke clear, and there was wind from the S., fresh. A draught was prepared and given to the invalid, who had awoke somewhat better after the gargles. They gave us some fish. Vehiatua was entertained with dancing. It began to be cloudy in parts. No change occurred during the day except wind from the S.E. now and again; and at night a fresh breeze from S., and the sky bright.

26*th* day:—It dawned clear with the wind at S.S.W., fresh. *Padre* Narciso awoke feeling somewhat oppressed

[1] This mercenary trait in the *Padre's* character was a new feature: ineptitude and petulance had been his leading manifestations. It is much to be regretted, nevertheless, that this carved stone seat (see also pp. 53–4, 107) was never obtained and brought away as a companion to the wonderful stone bowl of which more particulars will presently appear. Special stone seats were allotted to important Chiefs in the *marae*, but carved ones were rare.

[2] One may believe that Máximo, being a Limeño, took a prominent part in "getting up" this pastime. There was a "coliseo de gallos" or cock-pit in Lima at this period, which the Viceroy Amat had a hand in organising and bringing under Government control. See farther in *SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS* XVI (*b*) and XVIII (*b*).

with the flatulence from which he suffered: Vehiatua also relapsed. There was but little sunshine during the day: the wind was from S., the night fine, and calm.

27th day:—It dawned cloudy and calm, but a breeze soon sprang up from the S.E., fresh. *Padre* Narciso felt somewhat relieved of the flatulence, and Vehiatua also was a little better. I mended up a canoe-cuddy, to go into the *arii* Otù's territories with the said *Padre*. Vehiatua sent for me to make me a present on behalf of his sick relative, for he was now better; but I would not accept anything, and made them understand that it was our duty to assist the sick, from lowest to highest. And when I told them that our Sovereign also did it, and gave alms to such as had no means of getting attended to in their homes, for whom he maintained hospitals, they were lost in wonder. The wind continued S.E. during the day, with some sunshine: the night was bright and there was a faint breeze from S.S.W.

28th day:—It dawned clear, and with a light air from S. The fisherman brought us fish. The natives got up an archery meeting. *Padre* Narciso was rather better of his flatulence, and Vehiatua the same, for he remained within doors and ate only of our food. The wind hauled into the S.E. and at night the S., fresh.

29th day:—It dawned clear, the wind at S. Mass was said. The monkey was found dead, at daybreak; and was greatly bewept by the natives[1]. *Padre* Narciso felt worse of his flatulence. It remained calm all day; but at night there was a fresh breeze from the S., and the night starry.

30th day:—It dawned clear and with wind from the S., fresh. *Padre* Narciso was better; but Vehiatua worse, through having infringed his rule of diet, so that his mother and step-father came to present us with a pigling and a plantain sucker, and beg us not to be angry with

[1] This is the only mention of the Mission monkey—probably the first one the Tahitians ever saw.

her son. She was not admitted, however, we excusing ourselves by saying we were very busy. I finished mending the canoe-cuddy, and then I gave Vehiatua a sudorific. The remainder of the day was calm; and the first part of the night brought a fresh breeze from S. Vehiatua appeared much fatigued with coughing, and I set to and repeated the sweating mixture, after which he got relief. I stayed all night in his house by their urgent desire; and it passed with the wind still as it was.

MONTH OF JULY

1*st* day of the same:—It dawned clear and with the wind at S., fresh. Vehiatua was feeling better, so we gave him some chocolate. At mid-day I fixed up the cuddy in the canoe in order to start next morning on a tour right round the island, for they all desired it: and nothing else of note occurred during the day. The night was calm, and the sky clear.

2*nd* day:—Mass was said early. The day broke clear and with the wind from S., fresh. I started out to explore the whole island[1], and by mid-day I reached the district of *Afaaiti*, where Vehiatua's mother was with her party getting timber cut to be brought to *Ohatutira* for house-building. A meal was provided for the men I had with me as paddlers, and I set out for the district of *Ohitià*, where, it being then late, I had to stay the night. I was entertained by the Chief who was there, and by all his family; though somewhat harassed by the crowd that collected.

3*rd* day:—It dawned clear and with the wind at N.W. I started out from the said district, *Ohitià*, and reached the place where the *arii* Oreti, who is Chief of it, then was; and he presented me with two hogs baked after their

[1] Evidently *Padre* Narciso abandoned his intention of visiting Tu's territories, mentioned on the 20*th* and 27*th* of June; so Máximo went alone on a more extended tour.

fashion, and some native cloth. But, the wind having freshened and being contrary, I found it necessary to wait till it should calm down; so I took a look round his land, which seemed to me good, in addition to the district being a large one and well peopled. I examined the harbour, in which the two French vessels had been, as the said Oreti told me, and, owing to its being full of shoals and breaking seas, had left an anchor—which the natives recovered and conveyed to the island *Orayatea*, as has already been said[1]. Seeing that the wind did not take off I proceeded by land as far as the place called *Ohacna*[2], where the *arii* Otù's rule begins. I reached there after sundown, and the canoe arrived early in the night, the natives knocked up with paddling against the choppy sea; and the *arii* who lives here received me with many [kindly] expressions, and presentations of their food: and I passed the night without incident, beyond some brief showers.

4th day:—It dawned clear and with a strong wind from the N.W., which prevented me from starting. I went for a stroll about his district, which is not a very large one since it comprises but a single valley. The sea is without any reef, there is a sandy beach, and a rivulet flows from the said valley[3]. The soil is not of bad quality, and I gave him some seeds to plant. He showed me a she-cat which had been left with him by the Englishman[4]; and when I related to him that we possessed some of the same kind, at our house, he handed her over to me in order that she might breed. On my arrival becoming known a numerous crowd gathered to see me, so numerous that they caused

[1] See p. 136 and *note*.

[2] Now Mahaena, the district next to Hitiaa on the northern side.

[3] Máximo's description is good, as far as it goes, except that the sea reef is not absent but sunken; the soundings on it averaging from 2 to 3 fathoms. It was on an outlying patch of this reef that the *Águila* grounded when arriving off Tahiti in 1772 (*cf.* vol. I, pp. 300–1); and the French frigate *Artémise* nearly came to grief there in 1839 (*cf.* vol. I, 301, *note* 1; and Bibl. no. 112 *bis*, vol. V).

[4] Captain Cook left twenty cats and kittens, in all, at Tahiti.

me discomfort. At mid-day I started, with the same wind, which nearly drove us on to the point of a reef, and we had not been long on the way before I put in at the district of *Otiarei*, where the *arii* Otù's brother named Hinoy holds sway[1]. He is the one who has taken my name, and given me his own[2]. This *arii* was not at home, as it happened, but his kinsfolk received me with many signs of welcome, and wished to honour me with the same ceremonies that they use when doing homage to their Chief. They presented cloth, and a baked hog; and I passed the night without adventure. This district is not thickly peopled, because its sea-shore is everywhere bold and rocky.

5*th* day:—It dawned clear, and with the wind at S.W., faint. I set out by land, with a goodish crowd of natives, and got as far as the district of *Nonohea*[3], lands belonging to the *arii* Otù's mother; where I embarked, as there is an elbow of the reef they call *Guarahoho*[4], and the way by land traverses very broken country. There is a river hereabouts with no mean quantity of water[5]: the shore is sandy, and there is no outer reef. At mid-day I arrived at the district they call *Apayano*, where the *arii* is a brother of the *arii* Otù. He gave me a ready welcome and wished me to stay, but I said I could not. After all, however, I was obliged to wait until the canoemen's dinner was cooked, and in the meanwhile I took a look at his land, on foot. There is a very large gully in it, with paths in various directions and a river of fair depth, since canoes navigate it. As it was not possible to see anything more,

[1] O Tiarei is the next district north of Mahaena.

[2] This is a point of some interest, to which there is no other allusion in the Diary, except on the following day. It will be seen (at page 183), however, that Purahi's people bestowed another name on Máximo, out of her true motherly regard for him and gratitude for his attention to her dying son.

[3] Onohea or Onoheha.

[4] O Arahoho, the southern limit of Haururu (now Papenoo).

[5] The Papenoo river—the longest of Tahitian streams, being fed by mountain torrents from the slopes of Orohena and other central masses of the island.

being now late in the day, I turned back in order to go on and sleep in the district of *Matabay*, the above-mentioned *arii* loading up my canoe with two hogs, two fishing-nets, and some lengths of native cloth, which are things they value. This district of *Apayano* is large and populous; and its coast line not bad, on the whole, but it has not the protection of an outer reef. I reached *Matabay* at sunset, and was received by the *arii* together with all his people with much goodwill, and so dense a crowd that I got somewhat flustered, for each one wanted to push himself in front of the other, and there was at the same time such a shouting and yelling that it was impossible to catch anything they wished to say. The *arii*, however, seeing what was going on, ushered me into one of his own houses, and posted sentinels outside. I was astonished to see such an odious crowd, and declared to him that I would turn back to *Ohatutira*, as I feared the same thing might happen in the district of *Opare*. The *arii* thereupon sent off one of his people to ask the *arii* Otù to come from *Opare*, to convey me with him: which had effect at midnight—not the *arii* Otù coming, indeed, but his brother Hinoy, who came into my presence in tears, calling me by his own name and begging me to go to *Opare*, where he would take precautions against my being hustled by the crowd. I consented to his appeal, and the rest [of the night] passed without any fresh incident.

6th day:—It dawned clear, and calm. Such a crowd collected again that, to see whether any respite could be had, I made them all sit down and spent a long while in conversation with them, and after that I went out into the by-ways to get a look at the capacity of this district named *Matabay*[1]; and I found it finer than any of those I had seen before, both as to size and goodness of the soil and the density of its population. They showed me

[1] Matavai, properly speaking, is only the low flat spit of land that juts northwards from the district of Mahina, otherwise known as Haapape (the modern permutation of Haavai).

the spot where the Englishman set up his barracks, which is a point of land shut off between a rivulet and the sea, its surface flat and clear of trees[1]. No sign was left, except a fragment of cable, for he razed the barrack that he had set up. There were two ships, here this last time, of which the natives make mention the one as *Otute* and the other one *Opono*[2]. I then made my way back to the harbour, of which I express no opinion, since I am not of the nautical faculty; but I do say this much, that it appeared to me good, both by reason of its smooth water and its sufficient depth[3].

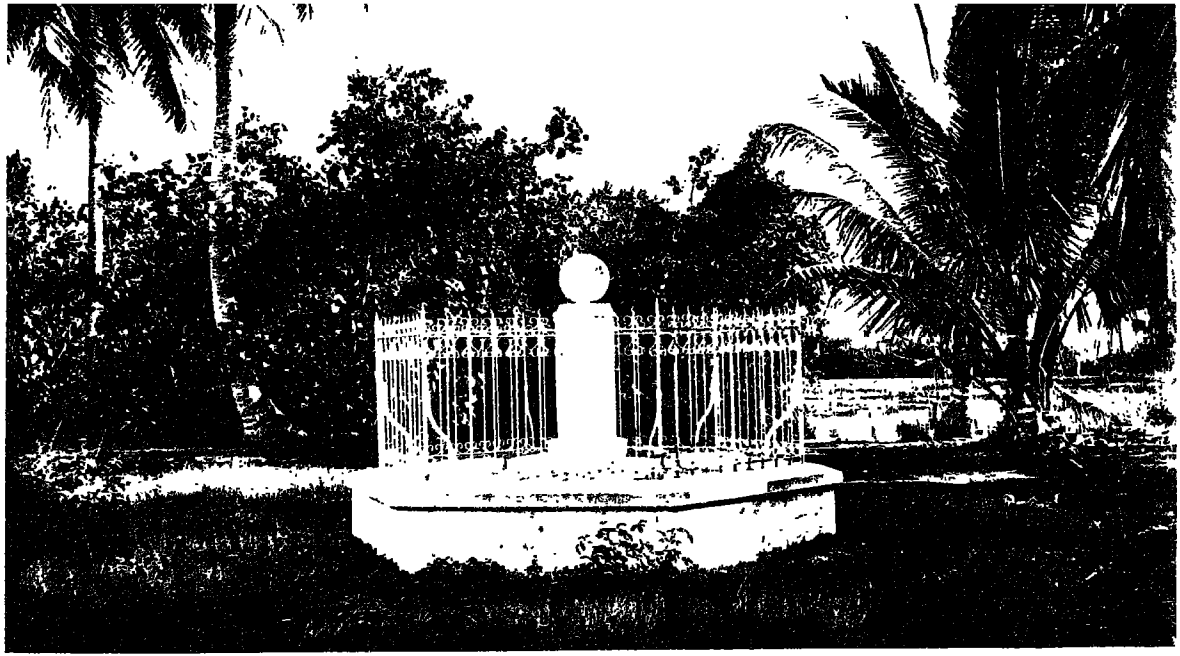
I passed on out of the district of *Matabay* and arrived about noon at *Opare*, where the *arii* Otù is. He welcomed me, with his relations and other *arii* who were there at the moment: all of them draping me with lengths of native cloth, which is a mark of their pleasure at seeing me, inasmuch as the said *arii* calls me his brother. There was a great concourse of people, but so orderly that I was able to converse for a long time. The *arii* directed them to place my canoe-cuddy near to his own, in a position inside the compound where it is forbidden to congregate. I passed the night without incident, although tired of talking and oppressed by the heat of the people who dropped in.

7th day:—It dawned clear and calm. They showed me the things the Englishman had left, such as spaniels, goats, pigs, a goose, two sheep, with odds and ends of ironware and soft goods. There is a house whose beams

[1] Named Point Venus by Captain Cook in 1769.

[2] *i.e.* Cook and Furneaux, in H.M. ships *Resolution* and *Adventure*, 1773. *Cf.* pp. 23, *note* 1; &c.

[3] The bay is sheltered by land from N.E. round by E. to S. and even S.S.W.; but in westerly and nor'-west gales it offers very unsafe anchorage. In 1788 H.M.S. *Bounty* came within an ace of being lost there in one such gale. The *Norfolk* was driven ashore in another, and became a total wreck, in 1802. There is now a good lighthouse at Matavai, which serves to give vessels approaching from the E. or N. a lead to Papeete, where the sea reef forms a perfectly placid harbour.



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CAPTAIN COOK'S OBSERVATION MARK AT MATAVAI IN A.D. 1900

are hung with the latter in honour of the *arii* Otù's greatness, its length being thirty-eight *varas*, width ten *brazas*, and five *brazas* in height[1], with the ground levelled smooth. In the afternoon I distributed some fruit- and flower-seeds to see if they would produce, for the soil seemed to me to be of good quality. I passed the night without incident, though there was no lack of people crowding together.

8th day:—It dawned clear and calm. I distributed some trifles, small knives, etc. In the afternoon they came presenting me with fishing nets, canoes, and a store of provisions and native wraps, for me to take away with me on the morrow. I passed the night, which was fine, without incident.

9th day:—It broke clear and calm. I started off by land, with all the *arii* and their kinsfolk, it being the custom to go as far as or beyond the confines of their district, in order to renew there the guest's supplies and take leave of him, with much weeping, which was done accordingly; and thus, as I passed through it by land, I saw the whole of *Oparc*, which is a very populous and smiling district. Better houses were met with than elsewhere in the island; the land is of good quality, and very wide extent, for it includes well-peopled valleys stocked on their lower slopes with good-sized plantations, though the hills are not so thickly wooded as those belonging to Vehiatua in his part of the country. We arrived about mid-day at the place they call *Efareura*, for we went along at a good pace, and I had to stay the night there owing to rain coming on. The wind was from S. and the night proved clear, and without incident.

10th day:—It dawned clear and calm. I took leave of the Chiefs, and came on accompanied by the *arii* Otù's brother until a beautifully wrought bowl of black stone was delivered over to me. This is a unique treasure which

[1] Equivalent to—length 105½ English feet, width 55 feet, and height 27½ feet.

I heard of through one of the natives as being in the possession of the *arii* Otù, and which, on my begging it from him, he had consented to give me. He kept it, however, in the district of *Atchuru*, where there is a large stone-built cemetery or *marae* whereat they swear him in as *arii*. It was for this reason that his afore-mentioned brother came with me, in order that the person entrusted with the care of the said *marae* and stone bowl should deliver it up to me; for this bowl had been dedicated to their God *Eatua*, and consequently I had some doubts whether I should succeed in gaining possession of it. The *marae* in question is called *Tuputupuatea*: the God to whom the bowl was dedicated is "Oro": and the locality *Teypunaguiya*[1].

I reached the district of *Otetaha* in the afternoon and made shift to stay there, because the *arii* of this district is an uncle of the *arii* Otù, and it is in his possession that those pearls are, which, in the statement made at Lima by the natives Tomas and Manuel, are said to belong to the sister-in-law of the *arii* Potatau in *Atehuru*, (not his wife, as the said statement asserts); but, having since been stolen, they are now in the keeping of the Lady of this district of *Otetaha*, whose *arii* is named Tepau[2] and his wife Tetuaohutia. They are three pearls of good quality, one of them is a fellow to one of those I got for the deceased Comandante, the other two are round, of good lustre, though not so large as those natives said in their statement, but of the size of chick-peas—not almonds[3]. This lady holds them to be treasures worthy of regard; so much so that she tried to get a little box out of me, suitable for keeping them in, and I failed to hit upon any expedient for winning them over from her myself. I passed the night without incident, though there was a considerable

[1] These names should really read *Marae Taputapuatea, Oro*, and *Punaauia* or *Te Punaauia*, respectively. The story of this bowl is of particular interest. The subsequent passages relating to it should be read with the Viceroy De Croix's despatch and Máximo's Memorial, and the Editorial Note at pp. xxxiv—xli.

[2] Or Tepahu. [3] *Cf.* p. 110.

gathering of people, as this district of *Otetaha* is very populous and has good houses in it, that of the *arii* himself being eighty-three paces in length. Its lands on the coast-flat are under extensive cultivation, but the hills are bare of wood[1].

11*th* day:—It dawned clear and calm. As soon as I had laid in provisions for my followers I set out for the district of *Atehuru*, and arrived there in the afternoon. I was welcomed with gifts of native cloth, in the house of the *arii* Potatau[2]. The concourse of people who assembled was very great, so great indeed that I found myself forced to withdraw, with the canoe and all the members of my crew, to an anchorage well off shore, for it was all shoal water. I landed again after sundown, and while I was engaged in a long conversation in the *arii*'s house a fiery vapour darted from the sky, which the natives, in much consternation, declared was their God *Eatua*—an occurrence nevertheless frequently seen in Lima, as everywhere else, and said to be a sign of dry weather: which in point of fact was being experienced [at this time]. I passed the remainder without incident.

12*th* day:—It dawned clear, and calm. I set out for the place called *Teipunaguia* to get the stone bowl; and arrived there about mid-day. The brother of the *arii*[3] landed, and taking a plantain sucker in his hand proceeded to a small hut that stands in the said *marae*, and presently they brought out the bowl and delivered it to me, it being carried between four men who placed it on board the canoe. This is a very large *marae*, and they swear in the *arii* in it, one portion of the congregation acclaiming him in a loud voice "*Arii!*" and the other portion calling out "*Maeva*[4]*!*" I caught sight of a number of skulls and

[1] O Tetaha or Te Taha, now called Faaa, is a district occupying a sector at the extreme N.W. corner of Tahiti.

[2] See *note* 1, p. 110.

[3] *i.e.* Hinoi, or perhaps Ari'i-paea, both half-brothers of Tu.

[4] *Maeva! Maeva! te Ari'i!* meaning "Hail! Hail! the Chief"

human bones, set out in regular order, and on asking what it meant they told me that these were the bones of persons who had been sacrificed to their God *Eatua*[1]. I also noticed three baked hogs set out on a platform for the God, and a little grotto or bower, constructed of rushes[2], which they said was where *Teatua* has his couch.

The *arii* Otù's brother turned back from this place for the district of *Opare;* and I pursued my journey until I came to the *arii* named Teahatu, an aged man and enormously stout, who received me kindly enough; and there I passed the night without incident.

13*th* day:—It dawned clear and with the wind at S., fresh, which obliged me to wait; and in the meantime I went for a stroll around with the people. As soon as I returned to my quarters I found that the stone bowl had been purloined, which news irritated me so much that I even used threats to them. Nevertheless, an investigation was made and it was learnt that an uncle of Vehiatua who happened to be here at this time had made off with it and had buried it in the sand to carry away later on. I directed them to dig at the spot pointed out, and after some little trouble it was discovered. I passed the night at the place keeping watch over the bowl, as it was already late. The wind held at S.: but slackened a little in force.

14*th* day:—It dawned clear and with the wind from S., fresh. I started for the district of *Papara*, which adjoins that of *Atehuru*. This last is the largest district of all in the island and is pretty densely peopled, the whole of its lowland belt being of white sand as far as the border of the *Papara* district, where the sand then becomes black. I proceeded on until the middle of the night with the object of getting close up to a bad stretch of water full of shoals and cross

[1] Máximo here uses the word *Atua* in ignorance of its exact signification, in the sense of the Supreme Deity; the particular conception of a god to whom these sacrifices were dedicated being Oro, who was deemed to be the offspring of Ta'aroa (=*Zeús*) and Hina.

[2] "Junquillos" (rushes); but he probably meant the common reeds, or light canes, Tah. *aeho* (*Miscanthus sinensis*, Anderss.).

seas that lies about the middle of the said district, where the *arii* resides. He received me with much kindness, and gave me a nice house to lodge in, and I passed the night without incident[1].

15*th* day:—It dawned cloudy, [wind] from the S., fresh. They presented me with some native cloth and a pair of baked sucking-pigs. I went out to take a look at the country and came upon some trees of the timber called *Etamanu*[2], which is close grained and something like cedar: they are five *varas* in thickness, tall in proportion and sound. I found another [sort] they call *Etoa*, which resembles the guaiacum, one *vara* and a half in thickness and of corresponding height. They stand near the sea, on the shore belt. As it was now late and I had to get across a very dangerous but short bit of sea, on the edge of the tract they call *Otepua*, I found it necessary to remain for the night.

16*th* day:—It dawned clear and with the wind at S., faint. I started out by land, with all the traps I had, and the bowl, fearing the rough passage across *Otepua*, on which account the canoe proceeded with nothing in her

[1] Máximo describes Papara very inadequately. He appears to have arrived on this night at Terehe, and to have been made welcome by the Chief Tevahitua-i-Patea, better known to Captain Cook and Sir Joseph Banks as "Amo," the husband of "Oberea" (Purea), Wallis's "queen." *Cf.* vol. II. That our diarist did not record full details of his two nights' sojourn under the Chief's hospitable roof is disappointing—and surprising, considering the prominent position Amo and Purea had occupied in bygone years, when their son Teri'i Rere was as yet unborn.

I take this opportunity of recording the pleasure and satisfaction I experienced, one hundred and thirty-three years after Máximo, in accepting hospitality from the *Ari'i* of *Papara*, Chief of the Teva and President of the District Council, who "received me with much kindness, and gave me a nice house to lodge in, where I passed several nights without incident" other than of a felicitous kind, and enjoyed many interesting and instructive conversations with my host on the subject of Máximo and his wanderings, and his native contemporaries.

[2] There was a well-known and magnificent grove of *tamanu* or *ati* trees (*Calophyllum Inophyllum*, Linn.) there in those days, few of which now remain.

except the paddlers and the cuddy. A great following of the people attached itself to me while in this district of *Papara,* for it is none of the least the island is divided into, and consists of two sections, the one belonging to Vehiatua and his mother, and the other to a first cousin of his[1]. At mid-day I came to the boundary of *Papara* and proceeded by sea as far as a place they call *Atimaono,* where I was obliged, by the many and pressing invitations they shouted to me, to make a halt. They gave me cloth, and a hog, and after that I set out again for the district of *Guayuriri,* where I arrived at sundown and was welcomed with much cordiality by the natives: and we passed the night there without incident, the wind continuing at S.

17*th* day:—It dawned clear and with the wind at S., fresh. I proceeded onwards from the said district of *Guayuriri* when it was nearly nôon, and got there after experiencing a few squalls. They gave me a fishing net, bunches of plantains, and some fish; and then I started for *Taravao,* where I called the people together to come and haul the canoes that I was travelling with across the neck of land; and the night passed with squalls and wind from the N.

18*th* day:—It dawned cloudy, and the wind was from the S., fresh. Such of the people as were present at the said place called *Taravao* mustered up, and I gave them a couple of hogs and some cloth to hurry them up in getting my canoes across to the other side of the land where the districts of *Ohitiâ* and *Afaaiti* meet; and things turned out as I wished, for a little before mid-day I was already over at the far side.

A messenger reached me from Vehiatua with news that he was ill again; and as it looked to me as if the breeze was not going to calm down I forsook the canoes and, bestowing some pieces of cloth on the people to bring on

[1] Purahi's mother was Amo's sister; consequently Amo's son Teri'i Rere, the youthful prince of Papara, was Purahi's first cousin, and her son Vehiatua was Teri'i Rere's first cousin once removed.

what lading there was, I went ahead by land and reached *Ohatutira* at nightfall. Here I heard the noise of drums in the *marae* that is Vehiatua's, meaning that prayers were being offered up to their God *Eatua* for the alleviation of the Chief's illness. I presently arrived home and found nothing noteworthy, except the *Padres'* lack of interest in my journey. We passed the rest with S. wind.

19*th* day:—It dawned clear and calm. I went to visit Vehiatua, who received me weeping, with his mother, and related to me how the *Padres* would not afford him any aid during his relapse, and that for this reason he had gone to a place called *Atinua* to see if he would improve there, but that, finding the pains in his legs got worse, he returned two days ago none the better for it. He had begged a little food, however, but sent it back, as he was not able to eat it. I could not utter a word [in reply], for I knew he had right on his side; but, as I was not compelled to declare my feeling in the matter, I did my best to parry the question by turning the conversation on to my own adventures while exploring the island.

In the afternoon a light breeze came out of the N.: the night passed with some short showers, and in calm.

20*th* day:—It dawned clear and the wind was from the N., strong. There was a brief squall. Vehiatua asked me to repeat the ointment which had given him relief before, and in order not to tell him they refused it I said it was all finished. Work was done in the kitchen-garden for planting cabbages and turnips; and some beans from the upland they call "del Valle[1]" were gathered, the seed for which *Padre* Geronimo Clota had brought. The night passed clear and with the same N. wind.

21*st* day:—It broke clear and with a light air from the

[1] This must refer to some place in Peru, perhaps the Vale of Jauja where, at Ocopa, the Franciscan missionary college was situated.

S. They came from the *Ohitià* district to wail and scarify themselves, on account of Vehiatua's illness. The fisherman came in the afternoon, and began to mend up certain gaps there were in the net. The day was calm, and at night there was a fresh breeze from S.

22*nd* day:—It dawned clear and with the wind light, from S. I gave a portion of the fish to one of the *Padres*, but they would not have it: which new fad I do not understand. Work was done in the kitchen-garden preparing some ground for planting, and also by the fisherman in repairing the net. In the afternoon I stepped over to see Vehiatua and found him very ill. At night a flute concert and also *opure* or prayers were conducted in his house, while *Teatua* at the same time inspired them with his frenzied ranting, in which, being near by, the *Padres* drew the conclusion that they were speaking evil of us. Notwithstanding that Vehiatua was secluded in bed, in a position where he could listen without being seen, he heard nothing that related to us; and though I reported so to the *Padres* they were not satisfied after all. The remainder [of the night] passed without incident.

23*rd* day:—It dawned clear and with a light air from S. Vehiatua was alarmingly ill, so that they collected many pigs and plantain shoots to take to the *marae* as offerings to their God *Eatua*, everything being in confusion through the general weeping they were all giving way to. I stepped over to see him and found him in a critical condition; his mother came to us in tears, begging that we would once more take his case in hand, and promising us everything her son possessed, to which we replied that we valued nothing so much as a pure friendship. Some of the *Padres' puchero* was given him, however, as he had asked for it. In the afternoon they stole a fowl, but it was soon brought back through the activity of Vehiatua's kinspeople. The day was calm, and one of our sows farrowed with seven boar piglings.

24*th* day:—It dawned clear and with the wind at S.E., faint. We got the sow home, for she had farrowed out of doors. The repairs to my net were completed. Vehiatua felt somewhat better; but in the afternoon he relapsed again, and their God *Teatua* having entered into him at a moment of yawning this gave rise to a great stir among the natives, for they declared it was the God of an uncle of his who had died some time ago, and had now come to visit him, whereby the Chief would be on his feet again in ten days' time and able to walk without any infirmity whatever: which falsehood we looked to to disabuse them of their error. The night passed without incident: the wind being at S.

Padre Narciso went out shooting in the afternoon, but came home empty-handed.

25*th* day:—Mass was said. It dawned clear, but there was a slight shower; and the wind was in the E. No change was observable in Vehiatua. In the afternoon *Padre* Narciso went to look about for a sow that was near her time for farrowing, but did not find her. Vehiatua's folk have found a key to the origin of his illness, but will soon discover their mistake, for they have assured him that he will be able to walk within five days from now. The night remained calm.

26*th* day:—Mass was said. It dawned clear and calm. One of the sows farrowed six suckers. *Padre* Narciso, being informed by Taytoa that he had seen the sow, went out and they brought her in with three live suckers and one dead one. In the afternoon Vehiatua felt worse, by which token they perceived the deception: and the night passed with the wind at N.E.

27*th* day:—It dawned clear and calm. The mother came in tears and saying her son was going to die. I went over to see him, and found him stretched on a platform of boards outside his house, and I told those who were present to take him inside again. We got word by one of

the natives that five of Vehiatua's partisans had gone forth during the past night to kill three men to be offered up to their God *Eatua*, as a shrift by virtue of which Vehiatua might recover from his illness[1]. So soon as we learnt this we counselled them to desist from doing it, although they had not been able to get hold of anybody. Vehiatua's mother afterwards came beseeching us to take the treatment of her son in hand; but although *Padre* Narciso was willing to oblige her *Padre* Geronimo was of the contrary mind, being afraid that the Chief would die, because he had lost so much flesh. At mid-day we heard that two of Vehiatua's lieges had gone out into the gorge, with some people accompanying them in quest of three men to be killed as a sacrifice, and on this account we got our arms in readiness for whatever might happen.

The day was cloudy, and calm: the night fine, but with squalls about daybreak.

28*th* day:—It dawned clear, the wind at E., fresh. I got word from the natives that one of the people of the gorge had been killed during the night, and that he had at once been carried off, with two hogs, to be offered up to their God *Teatua* in the *Atehuru* district: and that some other leading men, of the district of *Ohitià*, had afterwards sallied forth in that territory, to kill four men who were still wanted, as they had not been able to furnish the required offering in our parts because all the people had fled into the hills.

The net was shot and we got a pretty good haul of fish. There was a breeze from the E. The kinsmen of Vehiatua who command[2] [in the several fiefs] into which his part of the country is divided came to wail for him; and some women also, to besmear themselves with blood by scarifying their heads with sharks' teeth in token of

[1] At this point in the MS. both the handwriting and the ink change.

[2] There is here a blank in the MS. which seems to call for insertion of the words placed within brackets.

grief. It came to my knowledge that the natives were intending, and had agreed, to plunder us as soon as Vehiatua should die, which I communicated to the *Padres*; and for this reason we took the precaution of loading our fire-arms and mounting guard among ourselves. The remainder passed without incident.

29*th* day:—It dawned somewhat cloudy, and with the wind fresh, from N.E. We learnt that Vehiatua had passed a bad night. There were some heavy squalls from the E., with rain: the night was fine, and calm.

30*th* day:—Mass was said. The morning broke clear, and calm. The net was shot. The wind hauled into the N.E. and blew fresh and in squalls with heavy showers and flurries from the E.: the night was calm, with thunder and lightning.

31*st* day:—It dawned clear and with the wind in the S., faint. At mid-day they brought Vehiatua in his litter, and amongst those who conveyed him there was an aunt of his who came only to use the opportunity for gaining entry to our house. We placed him on a couch, whereupon his spokesman addressed the following enquiries to us:—*The first*, Were we angry? To which we replied that we were not, because we had no reason to be so. *Second*, Did we wish to go away? for were that so they would be sorry. I replied that the only concern we felt was on account of having received word from the captain or *tohoa* named Parahuoi that the natives had a mind to plunder us, after Vehiatua's death, of all we had. They all immediately answered that the instigator of this was already banished, merely on suspicion. This over, Vehiatua directed them to remove him, leaving us to go and see him. The day and night were calm.

MONTH OF AUGUST

1*st* day:—It dawned clear and with a light air from S. There was a squall. At mid-day the seaman went out

towards the beach, and, because of some trifling impression that the natives were making fun of him[1], wounded one of them. The sufferer came to us without showing the least rancour, and had the one wound and some other scratches dressed; but he wished the poniard to be taken away from the man, for he thought he would have killed him. We made a great show of concern, and denounced the [seaman's] misconduct. In the afternoon I went with *Padre* Geronimo to visit Vehiatua, and on finding him outside his house and no better, he told us of the constant worry our seaman caused him. A little before sundown, learning for certain that two persons belonging to the neighbouring district of *Ohitià* had been slain as a sacrifice to *Eatua* and brought here, I went out, with *Padre* Narciso for greater safety, and, guided by a secret path on account of the marked aversion I betokened when it came to my knowledge, we saw the bodies in actual being. They were father and son; and the former had suffered this misfortune through trying to save his son at the moment when all the people fled in a general scatter. The bodies had been laid in baskets of plaited palm-leaf[2] slung on a pole and hitched across from one tree to the next. The son was about twelve years of age. As soon as the *tahua* perceived us in this *marae* "Guayotaha" they insisted on our withdrawing immediately; so we passed along the beach, where we saw them bringing another body for the same

[1] A particular area on the beach at Tautira, screened on the landward side by tall bushes, is resorted to by the natives for relieving nature; but they are careful to go there only at early dawn or after nightfall. The incoming tide (which, at Tahiti, always begins to flow about seven o'clock, a.m. and p.m.) brings with it numbers of a certain kind of fish, and, with these auxiliaries, proves an efficient scavenger. If the seaman Pérez was making for this part of the beach "at mid-day" it is not unlikely that some idle youths jeered or pointed contemptuously at him.

[2] Lieut. de Bovis' remarks agree well with this—"on le portait ensuite au *marae* dans un panier en feuilles de cocotier" etc. *Cf. SUPPLEMENTARY PAPER* XVII (p. 241); and read also Ellis [Bibl. no. 36, chap. xiii], "his body placed in a long basket of coconut leaves, and carried to the temple."

offering, and, pretending not to be aware of it, we went back to our hospice pretty scared[1]. In the Supplement an account will be given of the origin of this cruel practice[2].

2nd day:—It dawned cloudy, and with a strong wind blowing from the S.E., and heavy thunder-showers. I was informed that the bodies had been conveyed to the district of[3], a part of the *arii* Otù's dominions, where the principal temple of all is, named *Tuputupuatea*[4]: there was now only one victim wanting to complete the offering as ordained by the *tahuas*. Nothing else particular occurred during the remainder [of the day].

3rd day:—It dawned clear and with the wind at S.E., fresh. Some gaps in the fence, that had been made by our pigs, were blocked out. The wounded man was dressed. Two hens that had got out were made off with, but we recovered them afterwards through information given by the thieves themselves. To one of these a young sucking-pig was given in return for one he had let us have by our request on Holy Saturday. The night passed without incident, with the wind at S.E. and a good moon.

4th day:—It dawned clear and with the wind S., fresh. In the afternoon I went in quest of the natives of the gorge, to get them to come and mend the kitchen-garden fence. The night passed with a few squalls.

[1] The *Padres* were evidently scared, lest they should be marked as victims for this rite; nor was Máximo free from doubts and alarm. It speaks well for the Tahitians that, in the circumstances, they formed no such design. Had these events taken place in a Melanesian, instead of a Polynesian, community the white intruders would have been the first to come under the ban of the soothsayer.

[2] This is another reference to Máximo's lost *Extracto*.

[3] The blank presented in the MS. at this point should be filled by *Atehuru*—or *Punaauia*, which was a sub-district in *Atehuru*.

[4] This name should be Taputapuatea, though in every instance in Máximo's MS. it is spelt as above. There are several *marae* Taputapuatea in the Society Islands, all called after the more ancient sanctuary at *Opoa*, in Ra'i-atea. Ellis says "the word may mean widespread sacredness," which seems feasible; but the late Miss Teuira Henry [Bibl. no. 110] rendered it "sacrifices from abroad" and her opinion is worthy of all respect.

5*th* day:—It dawned clear and with the wind at S.E., fresh. Vehiatua's mother and step-father came to our hospice begging, with many tears, that we would treat him again; but their supplications met with no response[1], which made me feel very sorry that I could not make amends for it, owing to a strict guard being kept over the medicines. The natives fenced in a separate yard for the hens, and I ordered a railing to be set up round the grave of the deceased Comandante. The night passed with the wind at S.E., blowing hard.

6*th* day:—At midnight we heard unmeasured cries and wailing, and as they caused us alarm, we put sleep aside and kept within our enclosure in some fear; but towards daybreak one of the Chiefs came to call me, on the side where my bedroom faces, to hasten across to his *arii*, who was wishing to see me for the last time. Despite this request, which appealed to our compassion, we first held a brief consultation, being filled with apprehension. I resolved to go, and the *Padres* hastily shut the door. Once outside, I was more scared than ever, for the darkness seemed to me intense, and the natives were all in confusion, some in the temples beating their prayer drums, (which are different from those used for merry-making), others grabbing any odd pigs they met to offer them up to their Gods, with everywhere turmoil and wailing. They had a canoe in waiting to ferry me across the stream that flows between his dwelling and our own. When I arrived they broke out into still louder cries, and hung about my neck, hustling me along to the no small discomposure of the women, who were seated almost on top of one another. I approached the *arii* and, taking hold of his pulse, I

[1] It will be seen, at a later page, that Purahi, when distracted with grief at the death of her son, passionately taxed the *Padres* with their heartlessness—as it appeared to her; but what really prompted them to deny her request for medical aid was their fear that Vehiatua might die whilst under their treatment, with possible consequences to themselves at the hands of the *tahu'a* class and people at large.

recognised that he was at his last breath, so that in a little less than a quarter of an hour he expired. The mother and the most important personages were supporting him in their laps, not omitting any part of his frame. In front of him lay displayed all his most cherished treasures, those emanating from the country itself as well as those that he had acquired from our own monarchy and from the English and French.

Unspeakable were the mother's moans in the abandonment of grief: she who was so wrapped with affection for her son, whom she had brought up in all the pride and luxury his sovereign rank made possible. The young man appeared to be from eighteen to twenty years of age; very fair skinned though not of the blondest, of good stature, and marked by nature with bluish stains [or patches[1]] on the lips, palms of the hands, and soles of his feet. He had a great liking for our people and was very tractable and accommodating towards them. I myself enjoyed his most particular regard, which caused me to be held in high respect throughout his dominions. They conferred upon me the name "Oroytimoheahea,"[2] which was that of an ancestor of the deceased, and they begged me to answer to it, and not to my own, whenever they should call me so. I omit the many mourning ceremonies of these natives,

[1] The MS. has *lunares azules*, which may mean blue stains or patches, or blue moles. But moles never occur on the palm of the hand, though they are common enough on the lips and are met with on the sole of the foot. Presumably these stains were *tatau* marks, for Lieut. Don Blas de Barreda [vol. II, p. 471], when writing to his friend and patroness the Duchess of Medina Sidonia, described the blue lower lip of Vehiatua's young brother, whom he had seen, and explains that the deceased also had it so, being the caste mark of the Vehiatuas. It is certainly strange that Máximo mistook these marks for natural ones if they were really *tatau*.

[2] This name should be written Oro-iti-maheahea. I referred it to the District *Ari'i* of Papara, who is a collateral descendant of the same Tu-i-te-ra'i as Purahi, through the arch-*tahua* Manea; and he has obligingly explained that the ancestor named Oro-iti was an arch-*tahua* of the *marae* Mata-hihae (= eyes flashing with anger, *teste* Miss Henry). *Maheahea* means pallid or fair-skinned; and therefore Máximo was Oro-iti the Pale-faced.

which I will relate in a separate description. I slipped away from them as soon as I could, to hear Mass, for which it was now the hour[1]; and when this holy sacrifice was over I walked across with *Padre* Geronimo to offer our condolences to the departed *arii's* mother, whom we found clinging to the corpse (which was now laid out on a daïs), her head and arms smeared all over with blood, and slashing herself about from the waist upwards with a shark's tooth; which shocked us not a little. In the presence of them all I began to condole with her, as the *Padre* told me to, but the mourner retorted with a flood of tears and an outburst of passion, rebuking us for indifference and disregard towards the deceased, and ending her plaints by exclaiming "Here lies the object of their loathing, to whom they many times denied admission to their dwelling, and whom they refused to succour with medicines." She gave utterance to the concluding words with such wrath that the *Padre*, though he did not understand them (nor did I interpret them to him), became apprehensive that some tumult would arise and urged upon me that we must immediately retire. On our moving off she followed us, begging me with much tenderness to remain with her, for that she regarded me in the light of her own son: with which request I complied, by the *Padre's* advice. The alarms felt by our party were without end, and seeing me so much beloved by the natives they besought me to use every effort to prevent the accomplishment of the former threats of sacking our station, for they were each terrified by to-day's concourse of people and confusion, with no new *arii* to control things. By arrangement with the widowed mother and some of her associates, therefore, I got our arms in readiness. My fears increased on learning that the people of the neighbouring district called *Ahui* were coming, and in point of fact did come, armed according to ceremonial custom, with their clubs, slings, and

[1] The *Padres* mention in their diary (vol. II, p. 343) that "It was the day of the Transfiguration of Our Lord."

other weapons in the nature of spears; but the widow giving heed to my anxiety sent off an *evea* or ambassador to request them, on her behalf, to conduct their mourning for the *arii's* death without violence. The bereaved mother again ordered her own people to prevent any attack being made on our hospice.

In the afternoon of this day it was ordained, in accordance with native rites, that no person was to go out fishing, nor kindle fire for cooking after their fashion; and so rigid was this prohibition that had not the said widow excused us from its operation we should have been in a sorry plight, as on other occasions when we had not [*sic*] yielded to them[1].

The night passed without incident, though we experienced some alarms.

7th day:—It dawned clear and with the wind at S., fresh. I went across to find the deceased *arii's* mother, and those in her company begged me to try and retrieve her from the grimy condition she had got herself into in the middle of the night, for they, seeing her in so unbridled a mood, could not make up their minds to attempt it, because they were afraid of her anger.

I approached this task during the time they were preparing a position in the form of a small open space for the accommodation of the persons appointed to remain in attendance by the corpse, as will be explained in due course. Accompanied by a few others I found the mourner so changed in countenance from the loss of blood that she was continually letting from her head and body that I was quite alarmed. Notwithstanding the petulance she evinced on seeing us, by abusing those who came to show me the way, I set about soothing her and at the same time tendering excuses for them. My counsel to her to be patient and resigned met with much resistance

[1] The *Padres'* diary of even date supplies a few more incidents of this pathetic event (vol. II, pp. 343–6).

on her part. In her utter despair she wished only for death. To this moment she had not tasted one drop of water. It was a great consolation to those around us to see her softening down towards me, and they made signs to me not to leave her by herself, for they feared she would collapse altogether. I stayed with her as long as I could. From the neighbouring settlements and valleys an immense concourse of people collected to bemourn the death of the *arii*, the Chiefly ladies bleeding themselves more as a matter of form than from grief or real sentiment, inasmuch as they drifted after a little while into busy conversations about their private affairs.

In the afternoon the corpse was carried to the *marae*, that it might sleep amidst the continual prayers of the *tahuas*. The prohibition against fishing and kindling fire was observed; and the entire population hereabouts still bore itself in the deepest silence.

8th day:—It dawned cloudy and calm. I noticed that no fire was yet lit, nor did anyone go a-fishing except to supply some very urgent requirement; and then only in the most secret manner, in order not to be observed. The beating of drums continued in the *maraes*. They brought some portion of bamboos for our fence, a special concession having been granted for the natives' work on our account not to be suspended. In the evening the bereaved took some nourishment, which cost me no small effort to persuade her to. Afterwards I returned to the Mission house much oppressed; and we passed the night with a few squalls, but more rest than on the preceding ones.

9th day:—It dawned clear with the wind at S.E., faint. The same mourning ceremonies continued to be observed as before. There were some showers. In the afternoon they brought us some bundles of bamboos for the fence. The mother of the deceased came over to see us and to gather consolation. On her way back I accompanied her

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THE MORTUARY COUCH OF VEHIATUA · 1777

as far as her house. We passed the night with heavy rain and frequent squalls.

10*th* day:—It dawned with rain and the wind S.E. Mass was said, and the fence was erected of bamboos[1]. There was a great gathering of the clansmen from *Oayautea*, the most gainful of all these Islanders and in their wars the foremost in renown, so that they stand high in the good opinion of their Chiefs. They brought a very handsome contribution of their produce and food-stuffs to the deceased *arii's* brother. This is the successor to the late one, and they call him Tetuaunouna, or Guatupua, a boy who looks to be six years of age, of good mien, and a fair liking towards us, according to the measure of our conduct[2]. At night, about nine o'clock, when the sky was clear and cloudless, an eclipse of the moon occurred, the half of it remaining bright. We passed the remainder with the wind at S., fresh.

11*th* day:—It dawned clear and with the wind S.S.W., fresh. Our fence was completed, and those who had been at work upon it were rewarded with a length of baize.

We got word that the *arii* Otù was seriously unwell; and the Papara people were proposing to offer a human sacrifice in the principal temple *Tuputupuatea* in memory of their Chief, Vehiatua. We heard in the night that the aforesaid Otù was sending one of his people over, in consequence of his illness, and we awaited the envoy in some anxiety. The night passed without incident; the wind S., strong.

[1] By the use of the word *cerco* here, instead of *quincha*, this "fence" seems to have reference to the railing round Boenechea's grave, for which Máximo had given directions on August 5.

[2] Tati advises me that this young Chief's titular name was Tetua-ounumaona, or Teri'i Ounumaona. It bears a noteworthy resemblance to the Ra'i-atean Chief's name Teri'i-nui Hohonu-mahana. Various writers who saw the boy have computed his age in such wise as to fix it at from six to eight years at the most, in 1775. He and his elder brother were Purahi's only children.

12*th* day:—It dawned bright and with the wind S., faint. They brought us some bundles of bamboos to patch up the fence of the kitchen-garden with. The remainder passed without incident or anything noteworthy.

13*th* day:—It dawned fine and with a strong breeze from S.E. Mass was said at daybreak. A large portion of our fence was repaired by natives from *Mataoae*. They presented a contribution of food-stuffs to the boy *arii* elect. The *Ohitià* people came to offer their condolements to the mother *arii*. The night passed with the wind unchanged.

14*th* day:—It dawned clear and with the wind S.E., fresh. A portion of the fencing round our fore-court was repaired. In the afternoon the clansmen of *Guayari* arrived to bemourn the death of their deceased *arii*, and the Chiefs' ladies presented their wraps of native cloth to the corpse with a very liberal hand. We had some showers in the course of the night.

15*th* day:—It dawned clear, and with a light air from the S. The Chiefs from most of the districts belonging to this Government made a great noise, continuing the wailing and blood-letting.

A piragua or *pahii* arrived from the *Isla del Parayzo*[1] alias *Orayetea* with a great lot of native drapery for presentation to the *arii*, whom they already regarded as sworn in. A part of our fencing was repaired, and some pens were constructed for the pigs; nothing else in particular occurred.

16*th* day:—It dawned cloudless all over, and with the wind at S.E., fresh. They brought us a few bundles of bamboos and the pig-pens were finished. We had a lot of thunder, and rain, with squalls from the S.

[1] The name bestowed on Ra'i-atea by the *Águila's* people was *La Princesa* [vol. II, pp. 164, 303, 316]; but *cf.* p. 46 hereof.

17*th* day:—It dawned wet, and with the wind S., strong. A part of the fore-court was mended up. There was a consultation between the three principal councillors, named Tetumanua, Teyeye, and Otitoi, which last[1] [cannot be] less than seventy years of age, as to what should be done with the vessel sent over by the *arii* of *Orayctea*, and it was decided she should remain here to do battle against the people of the neighbouring island of *Morea*. The rain and thunder claps continued all day, and the wind at S.E.

18*th* day:—It dawned cloudy, and with the wind at S.E. The ladies of Chiefly rank from the district of *Ohitià* were allowed the entry of our hospice this afternoon; and nothing else of note occurred.

19*th* day:—It dawned clear and with the wind at S.E., light. Information reached us that one of the natives of the district of *Guayari* had been killed as a victim for sacrifice. A part of our fence was repaired. Towards evening I went out with *Padre* Narciso to shoot in the neighbourhood of our mission house; and we secured two birds that these Idolaters will not eat, for fear of the [tutelary] deity whom they believe in.

20*th* day:—Mass was said early: it dawned clear, and with the wind from S., fresh. The natives had some cock fights. The *arii* dined with us, but on recognising in the dish the birds we had shot on the previous day (which they hold to be their God and name Tutuirau) he excused himself from partaking of them, saying they would make his eyes reel[2]. But our servants were not so particular,

[1] The text appears to lack something here, though no blank is left in the MS. I suggest the words within brackets.

[2] The incident shows how carefully this young Chief, barely eight years of age at the time, had been schooled in the faith of his ancestors and the customs of his entourage, by his excellent mother Purahi, assisted it may be by the counsels of her uncle the arch-*tahu'a* Manea. Several birds were considered sacred by the Tahitians, notably a cuckoo (*oovea*), the kingfisher (*ruro*), and the crab-heron (*otuu*). They seem to have been regarded as shrines or

because, being (as they said) under foreign patronage, no harm whatever would overtake them. Some fencing was done, and rewarded. The remainder passed in fine weather.

21*st* day:—It dawned with a S.E. breeze, fresh. The fence was completed, and the workers were remunerated with some knick-knacks. A Chief of the people of the *Atehuru* district came with many others to bemourn the death of Vehiatua, wearing a shell affair of mother-of-pearl, that they call *parae*. Some ladies came in his company and besmeared themselves with blood: the gathering was very numerous. The remainder passed with a few showers.

22*nd* day:—We had the wind from N.E., fresh. They brought us a few stakes we wanted, and restored a young sow-pig they had stolen from us a few days before. The night was tranquil.

23*rd* day:—It dawned clear, with a fresh breeze blowing from S.E. The seaman was somewhat indisposed in health. They brought us more stakes; and the *arii's* step-father handled an axe for us. The night passed without incident.

24*th* day:—..... [blank].

25*th* day:—It dawned clear and with the wind S.E., fresh. There was a bit of a disturbance in the afternoon over the raid on some provisions[1] that had been brought for the Chief of *Guayuru*, who is at present here with his household. We passed the night with squalls and wind from the S.E., strong.

26*th* day:—It dawned with the wind the same. They brought us some more stakes for the pig-pens. The weather continued the same, with a few squalls. A great

vehicles for certain gods, rather than as divinities in substance or form. It is possible, nevertheless, that the birds the *Padre* had shot and served up represented the Vehiatua family totem.

[1] See pp. 24–5; and also vol. II, pp. 134–5, 269, for an explanation of this custom.

number of rats invaded us, which obliged me to sleep in a canoe-cuddy I kept in the fore-court.

27*th* day:—Mass was said. There was wind at S., gentle. The pig-pens were worked at, and also an apartment for me in the fore-court. Nothing else occurred.

28*th* day:—Mass was said: we had the wind from S., gentle. My apartment was finished, and nothing else occurred.

29*th* day:—It dawned with the wind S., light. We got five kittens, that our cat gave birth to. It came to our knowledge that Otù was very ill; and the remainder passed without incident.

30*th* day:—Mass was said, with the wind S. and clear weather. They repaired a breach in the kitchen-garden [fence] through which they had stolen some cabbages from us. There was a great gathering of the *Guayautea* people, who had recently come to bemourn the death of their *arii*, and they presented their rolls of drapery. At night we made the dog sleep in the kitchen-garden to prevent further thefts.

31*st* day:—It dawned clear and with the wind at N., fresh. They lifted a post and stole two hens through the gap, which we recovered through native informers who told us who had been the thief, in the hope of gaining a reward.

MONTH OF SEPTEMBER

1*st* day:—It dawned clear, and with the wind light, at S. The opening in the hen-yard was put to rights, and we learnt that the mother *arii* had banished the native who stole the fowls. During the day there were showers, and at night heavy downpours, which swept over with wind from various quarters.

2*nd* day:—It dawned with rain, and variable wind. They restored three fowls to us that, through some lack

of watchfulness, had been stolen from us. We had a good moon, and a strong wind from S.E.

3*rd* day:—Mass was said. There was mist, and wind S.E., strong. Three chickens apiece were given to the *arii's* mother and step-father, by which attention they were much gratified. I went to *Irimiro*, where Manuel's mother lives, to look for him and learn whether he would make friends again, but I did not find him. I passed the night there, as it was late and there were frequent rain squalls.

4*th* day:—We had the wind S.E., strong. I returned to *Ohatutira*, meeting with some showers, and arrived at noon. I informed the *Padres* of the non-success of my enquiries for the neophyte: and there was nothing at all noteworthy on these two days.

5*th* day:—It dawned cloudy, and calm. They broke into my sleeping apartment and stole a piece of baize and the key of my chest from me. I made this known to the mother *arii*, and the thief was presently brought up, turning out to be a boy stranger. The people of *Matabay* or "Puerto del Inglés," in the dominions of Otù, came to offer their condolences to the *arii* Opò. The remainder passed with showers, the wind variable.

6*th* day:—It broke clear and with the wind S.E., fresh. The people from *Guayari* left. Early in the night there was a great shouting and rumpus amongst the household of Oviriau, a Chief lady, because she was seized with oppression or pain at the heart. I returned to the hospice for some wine and moistened her temples, nostrils, and upper part of the breast; but when I tried to put a binder round her it proved impossible, for I could not keep her still even with the help of several people. I didn't persist in the business, in consequence of advice privately given me by a confidant of mine, to the effect that her husband might entertain some suspicion of me if I were so zealous,

because of her extreme beauty, which in point of fact she possessed. Her complexion was very blonde, her hair ruddy and curling, and she had blue eyes. She was much admired by the people of *Atehuru*, her district.

7th day:—It dawned clear and with the wind at S., fresh. I went to visit the invalid lady Oviriau, and found her as it were dazed, and her body much knocked about. This and similar sudden attacks of illness are attributed by the natives to the spirit or *evarua* (as they call it) of deceased persons whom they may be bewailing having taken possession of the mourners by entering into their bodies; and they were persuaded that this was the case now in regard to the spirit of the deceased *arii*, who was Oviriau's first cousin. It was not possible to disabuse them of this error, set afloat and upheld by their *tahuas*, to whose fables they yield implicit belief[1].

We had a good moon and the same wind.

[1] The late Bishop Jaussen, of Tahiti, defined *varua* by "âme, esprit," *i.e.* the soul. The "spirits" of deceased persons, according to him, were "*oromatua*, esprits des morts." The distinction, if any, is a very fine one and not easy to comprehend in any language, the subject being intangible in itself; but it is noteworthy that Máximo cites *varua*, and not *oromatua*, for the supposed malevolent "spirits" of the human dead. William Ellis the missionary states [Bibl. no. 36, 2nd edition, vol. I, pp. 334–5] that "The *oromatuas* were the spirits of departed fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, children etc. The natives were greatly afraid of them, and presented offerings, to avoid being cursed or destroyed when they were employed by the sorcerers. They seem to have been regarded as demons." At p. 396 of the same, however, Ellis speaks of dying persons, who "imagined that *oromatuas* or demons" were often waiting near by to seize the human spirit as it left the body, and were wont to exclaim "There are the *varua* waiting for my spirit: guard its escape, preserve it from them," etc. These passages seem to exhibit some confusion between the two terms, in Ellis's mind, if not also in fact. See farther, at p. 406 of Ellis, "When a person was seized with convulsions or hysterics it was said to be from seizure by the spirits, who sometimes scratched their faces, tore their hair, or otherwise maltreated them." The description recorded by Máximo of Viriahu's convulsive fit reads like one of hysteria (which is a common occurrence) due to pent-up grief or excitement at the death of her cousin and the added strain of her mourning performances, rather than of epilepsy, which is more rare among natives of the Polynesian race.

8th day:—Mass was said early, and we had the wind from S.E. We looked to the natives to help us fix a flag-staff on a small hill called *Tahuareva*[1] that faces the harbour, and they gladly consented; and soon began to hack down trees and clear away all the undergrowth that might obstruct the best view. At mid-day I started in my canoe for the district of *Ohitià*, in quest of eatables for our work people; I reached there in the evening in fine moonlight, and was met by a great assemblage of my friends the Chiefs.

9th day:—I awoke at *Ohitià*, the wind being S.E., fresh. The natives went out into the valleys in quest of their produce, which they presented before me at mid-day in such abundance that I was forced to leave them the greater portion; my canoe—though not a single but twin-hulled one such as they use—not being able to carry any more, without endangering two hogs which they also gave me. I set out in the afternoon, and got home in the night to find nothing new with our people.

10th day:—Mass was said: and we got ready everything that we had to take with us up the small hill *Tahuareva*, and passed the night with a good moon.

11th day:—I set out with *Padre* Narciso at daybreak, to secure coolness for so laborious and fatiguing a job as ours, though the hill is no distance from our hospice. Many natives besides those I had invited came along with us, some to enjoy the fine day, some from curiosity. We reached the top, which is flat, from whence our range of vision took in the tops of the other hills that extend as far as to the neck of the island, named *Tarabao*. We set fire to the undergrowth in several places, and with the strong S.E. wind that was blowing the greater part of the slope of the hill got alight. Some coconut-palms that were in the way were cut down, and the men brought us a pole of the most durable wood they call *etoa*, which they

[1] *Cf.* vol. II, p. 347 and foot-note.

found on this hill, and which served us for the flag-staff and was firmly fixed in place. I gave them plenty to eat out of the provender and hogs from *Ohitià*, which I had brought for the purpose. We were overtaken by such a storm of rain and wind that we could not descend, and consequently passed the night up there with the *arii* and a few others, all of us wet through, with no place to take shelter in, and totally unable to light a fire by reason of the fierce hurricane that was blowing.

12*th* day:—Morning broke with the same bad weather. It was decided with *Padre* Narciso that they should rig up a lean-to shelter with some branches of trees, for to descend would be to risk our lives, as we saw from the danger experienced by the boy *arii*, accompanied and guided as he was by his vassals. Only the love they bore us could have induced them to bring some food up to us from below, and the bearers were a good deal scratched and knocked about by the slips and falls they suffered. The night passed in the same toils.

13*th* day:—We observed that the weather was less stormy and decided to go down: with a lively dread of falling, however, though carefully escorted by a number of natives. We reached the valley by mid-day, not much at our ease, but very sorry for the hurts sustained by the men who befriended and assisted us[1]. We got home to our dwelling, and found no damage beyond a few palms and other trees torn about by the gale.

14*th* day:—It dawned clear and with the wind at S., strong and blowing in gusts: at night it veered to S.E., with some rain.

15*th* day:—It dawned with fine weather. The liegemen of this *arii* set out for *Guayotihi*, an islet apart, to offer up prayers to *Eatua*, their God. They told us that the *arii* of the neighbouring island of *Morea* had caused certain

[1] The handwriting in the MS. here reverts to a neater style very like the first.

persons to be killed who had treacherously murdered a native of this island of *Otahiti*, when it was not war time, and that he had sent the bodies over to Otù, in satisfaction, that he might offer them up in his principal *marae*. Let the truth bide its time.

We made a present to the *arii's* parents of three puppies of the dogs from Lima.

16*th* day:—We had the wind at S.W., moderate; and we sent [some men] up the hill to run up a trial flag on the staff with a strip of native cloth, and when we saw it flying we signalled to them by firing the small cannon[1], and then they came down. There were a few squalls during the remainder.

17*th* day:—Sunday: Mass was said early. It dawned clear and with the wind S., light. Nothing worth remark occurred and we passed the night with the wind at S.S.W.

18*th* day:—It dawned clear and with the wind at S., light. At mid-day the *arii* arrived with his liegemen after having concluded their *opure* or service to their God at the islet of *Guayurua*[2]. An account shall be given of the ceremony observed before partaking of turtle[3], and also of those to whom its consumption is interdicted, and of where it must be cooked. The night was fine throughout.

19*th* day:—It dawned clear and with the wind S. *Opure* or prayers were conducted in the *marae Guayotaha*, and the women were permitted to go inside, as it was a special office or dedication on their account: for entry is not allowed to that sex except on such an occasion as the present one, which is duly announced accordingly[4].

[1] *Esmeril*: a small cannon next in size to a falconet. See p. 59, *note* 2.

[2] The islet "of" *Vaiotihi* "off" *Vaiurua* would be better.

[3] *Tortuga ó carei*. If Máximo ever wrote this promised account it must have gone astray with his *Extracto*, so regrettably lost.

[4] A most rare privilege. I do not call to mind another record of it in any work I am acquainted with. The *marae* Vaiotaha was Vehiatua's own, at Tautira. See vol. II, p. 127, *note*. No trace of it now exists and its site is covered with timber and dense undergrowth.

A great lot of rats were killed in our hospice. The natives made me a present of two *sapallos* the seeds of which were planted, it is said, by the aforesaid *arii* Otù when he was staying at *Ohatutira*. We passed the remainder with the wind S.W. and a few showers.

20*th* day:—It dawned cloudy and with the wind S.E., moderate. Many of the natives who had been guests here for a long time now departed for their respective districts. We had a few showers.

21*st* day:—Mass was said early. There was rain, and it blew fresh from the S.E. I made a flag out of native cloth, with the arms of our Sovereign on it, to fly when our frigate should come; as we were looking forward to her arrival at the island. There were cock-fights (see account of this[1]); and we passed the remainder with a few showers and the wind the same.

22*nd* day:—It dawned clear with the wind N., fresh. I was rather unwell in health; and nothing noteworthy occurred during the remainder.

23*rd* day:—It dawned clear, and was calm, with a few puffs. They pressed me to accept a hog, and laid a plantain sucker at my feet, as a sign of apology; for I had fallen out, some days ago, with one of the *arii's* lieges. We passed the night with the wind light, at S.

24*th* day:—Mass was said early. It dawned clear and with the wind at S.E., fresh. A number of natives went away to their own district of *Oayautea*. We passed the night with the wind the same.

25*th* day:—It dawned cloudy and with the wind S.E., moderate. We paved the entrance to our house with some

[1] The words in parentheses occur so in the MS. and probably point to a description of the natives' method of cock-fighting written or intended to be written by Máximo in the lost *Extracto*. For a knowledge of the Tahitian contests we have to thank Ellis, the missionary, and Moerenhout, whose accounts of them are reprinted in the *SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS* following this Diary.

trimmed slabs of coral which belonged to a *marae*, which caused the natives great concern[1]. During the remainder we had some showers, and a calm.

26*th* day:—It dawned wet and continued so until mid-day, when it cleared up and a breeze set in from the S.E., fresh. A piragua[2] or *pahi* arrived from the island of *Maitù*, that is called by us San Sereno[3], but she went to pieces on the reef; and the natives here thereupon made havoc with what she brought. A gap in our fence was repaired: and we passed a clear night, without incident.

27*th* day:—It dawned clear, and wind S., fresh. We had some showers, and nothing particular happened.

28*th* day:—It dawned clear and with the wind from S.W., faint. We set them to work to tidy up the court-yard of our house and remove the grass and refuse that were in it, and the natives were given some trifles as a recompense and went away contented. At mid-day the wind shifted to S.E., moderate, and in the afternoon the tidying up was completed, and some portion of the pave-ment at the outside door of our hospice. The night passed with rain, and the same S.E. wind.

29*th* day:—Mass was said early, and the day broke with squalls, and wind from S.E., fresh. They took away a craft that the natives call *pahi*, because they were afraid of some extortion on the part of our people, and kept her at the haven of Sta María Magdalena, alias *Guayurúa*. The day passed with some squalls, and the wind from S.E., fresh: the night the same.

[1] *Cf.* pp. 66 and *note*, 71, 98, 109.

[2] Máximo here uses the word *piragua*, in contradistinction to *canoa*, to indicate the different construction of the Tahitian sea-going *pahi* from that of the smaller coasting canoe or *vaa*.

[3] By *Maitù* he means *Mehetu*, now called *Mehetia*, the small island which lies 60 miles due E. from Tautira and is a dependency of the province over which Vehiatua ruled. This is the only place in all the Spanish documents where the name "San Sereno" is applied to it. Its ancient native name was *Tuhua*.

30*th* day:—Mass was said early. It dawned with rain, not lasting, and was cloudy. There was no steady wind observable until mid-day, when it set in from the S.E., fresh. There was nothing noteworthy during the remainder: we passed the night with some squalls, and the wind the same.

MONTH OF OCTOBER

1*st* day:—Mass was said early. The day dawned with slight rain and the wind in the S.E., fresh. A little after sunset, while we were at prayers, they stole all the clothes I had in my chest, of which we became aware at the moment by [the rattling of] the bamboos of the fence. I immediately set off [in pursuit] with a lot of the natives, spreading ourselves over all the various paths to overtake the thieves. I took the route for *Tarabao* by sea, and spent the night paddling, without incident.

2*nd* day:—It dawned clear and calm. I quitted the district of *Afaaiti*, leaving the canoes and going across by land to the other side [of the isthmus] which forms the district of *Guayuru*, and arrived there at mid-day. A little while after me a henchman belonging to the *arii* Vehiatua's mother came in with news that the greater portion of the stolen things had come to light, and therefore I set out to return at once to *Ohatutira* notwithstanding that persons were now on the look out in all parts to secure the thief, who was known. I passed the night in the district of *Guayari*, owing to the heavy rain and the fatigue of the journey.

3*rd* day:—It dawned with rain, and wind from the S., fresh. I started off from the district of *Guayari* by land and reached *Ohatutira*. The Indian Tomas Pautu who had parted company from us appeared at our hospice to-day, and presented himself before the *Padres* with his wife, saying he wished to go back to Lima again. He was warmly welcomed and entertained by the *Padres*. I

found the chief part of the things that had been stolen from me already in my house. We passed the rest [of the day] with the wind at S.E., moderate.

4*th* day:—After two Masses had been said I set out in quest of what was still wanting of the stolen things: and I availed myself of this plea to embark upon a tour all round the island for the second time. I had a nice breeze from S.E., and reached the district of *Ohitià* at sundown, where I stayed the night without adventure.

5*th* day:—It dawned clear and with a strong wind from the S.E. I left the district of *Ohitià* and by the use of sail and paddles I got, by the time it was sunset, as far as *Opare* where the principal *arii* of the island, named Otù, resides. He welcomed me with many expressions of friendliness and affection, and gave me hogs and provisions for the natives of my party. I told him about my affairs, and he promised to take all the measures possible for the recovery of my lost property. In the evening I was taken by the *arii* Otù and the Chiefs of his seigniory to a house which had the appearance of a theatre, where after the manner of our play-houses some farces or masquerades were acted; and though trivial enough [in character], afforded much amusement and entertainment to the natives. A separate account of these representations will be given in another place[1]. When it was all over we made our way back to Otù's house, and he put his sleeping apartment at my disposal for me to sleep in in his company: a much valued compliment in their estimation, for even Otù's own parents may not enter the sleeping apartment in question. I did not accept the invitation, as I wanted to be with the parents of the afore-mentioned Otù, so as to learn from them all about the most noteworthy features of his government, customs, and musical entertainments with their flutes.

[1] In the lost *Extracto* again! Captain Cook describes one of these séances, that he witnessed at Ra'i-atea, which was ludicrous enough, and extravagant in conception [Bibl. no. 29, vol. 1, p. 366].

6*th* day:—The day broke cloudy and with a strong wind from N.W. At early dawn this morning the *tahua* or high-priest named Orae came to lay a complaint before Otù against an uncle of the latter who had been detected in adultery with his wife. Having listened to the complaint Otù promptly ordered that the uncle be notified of his sentence, which was banishment; the which, being taken with a bad grace by the parents and other relations of the said Otù, he got angry and extended the banishment to them all, without excepting his father and mother and even the dead (it being the custom among Chiefs to preserve their bodies dry, and keep them always near them at their homesteads or places belonging to each[1]). On its being understood that all were to be banished they gathered together in sad plight in a big shed, full of tears but not daring to speak against the *arii*, nor even to beg him to rescind the ban. The dependents or servants of the banished families set about getting together all the chattels and baggage in readiness for departure. I went to see them, and while condoling with them on their misfortune I asked whether it might be opportune if I were to see Otù and crave a reprieve for them regarding the sentence of banishment. All of them urged me not to see him, fearing lest he might become still more incensed, and advised that his commands be left to take effect. I resolved, nevertheless, to see Otù; but when I spoke to him on the subject he tried with subtlety to put me off the track. A second and a third time I pressed the matter,

[1] The words within parentheses are Máximo's, and serve to explain the reason for this singular disposal of banishing the dead, which is nowhere else alluded to, so far as I am aware.

Cf. Ellis (the missionary): "The bodies of the dead were allowed to remain in the house in which they had lived, and which was still occupied by the survivors. A kind of stage or altar was erected in the house, on which the body was laid. But when the people became wiser, and society improved, the *hau una*, neat or polished age, commenced, which continued until the arrival of foreigners. It was in the commencement of this age that separate houses were built for the dead" [Bibl. no. 36, 2nd edition, vol. 1, p. 404].

reminding him of our friendship, and the disfavour he must incur if he should deny me what I asked, so that I should be under the necessity of at once embarking in my canoe and must go back to my district. He answered me nothing, but kept himself very calm and silent. I made a gesture to the effect that I felt slighted, and called to the natives who accompanied me to get the canoe ready to take me back to *Ohatutira*. At this Otù covertly tipped the wink to one of his people to detain me, and in point of fact one of them came over towards me, saying "Stay! wait! whither goest thou? The weather is bad." I made no reply, farther than to say "What do I here? Of what use am I, if what I ask is not done?" Otù then put aside his abstracted mood and his features relaxed somewhat, and finally he decided to remit the sentence of banishment. I remained amongst them for the rest of the afternoon and a part of the night, receiving thanks and felicitations for the endeavour—for them a very great matter indeed—in which I had succeeded.

7th day:—It dawned with rain, wherefore I resolved to ask Otù for a cuddy [for my canoe] to continue the journey in, and he complied in good part. While we were conversing about it, all those who had been sentenced to banishment on the preceding day appeared on the spot and formed a half circle so as to enter through the doorway with very slow steps, crestfallen and timorous in countenance, the breast and half the back undraped, each one bearing either rolls of cloth, or plumes of feathers, or such other treasures as they value, to present very humbly to Otù, and be finally absolved of their misdeed. The natives call this action *etatára hara*, which literally translated means the same as atonement, or paying forfeit for their offence[1]. Although the cuddy for my journey had been offered I was not able to make use of it, because no provender had been got ready for the natives of my

[1] Expiation, with contrition.

following. I passed the night here amidst thunder, heavy rain-storms, and wind from the S., strong.

8th day:—It dawned in rain, with the wind S., moderate. I quitted this district of *Opare* to-day in company with Hinoi, the brother of Otù, who directed him to go with me through all the districts under his rule until we should meet with the thief[1]. At sunset we arrived in the district of *Atehuru*, where we passed a fine and rainless night.

9th day:—It dawned clear and calm. We stayed in this district of *Atehuru*, where we were entertained by its *arii*, Potatau, with gifts of hogs and native cloth, while search was being made for the thief who, it was said, was in hiding hereabouts. The night was fine, and without rain.

10th day:—It dawned clear and calm. They brought the thief before me; he delivered up a sheet, and confessed to everything that he had stolen, in detail, saying that whatsoever was still lacking was in the possession of Vehiatua's step-father's cousin. As soon as he had made his confession they wanted to kill him and throw him into the sea (the punishment they award to thieves). I intervened pretty strongly in his favour, but only succeeded in getting this punishment commuted to banishment. Hinoi returned to *Opare*, and I continued my journey as far as the district of *Guayuriri*, where I arrived at sundown, and passed a fine night, without incident.

11th day:—It dawned clear and with the wind at S.E., fresh. I left the district of *Guayuriri* and, after crossing overland with the canoes by the *Tarabao* track, reached *Ohatutira* very late at night, owing to the rain-bursts and squalls we experienced. The remainder of the night I passed apart from our hospice.

12th day:—It dawned with rain and wind S.E., strong. I went to the hospice and found all the stolen property

[1] *Cf.* October *1st* to *4th*.

there with the exception only of a shirt. The day was rainy, the wind S., fresh, the river swollen; and the same at night.

13*th* day:—It dawned in a heavy downpour of rain [which lasted] until mid-day, when it took off a bit: with wind from the S.E., moderate. At night the rain continued and there were thunder-claps.

14*th* day:—It dawned cloudy with heavy rain, and wind from the E. There was a great rumpus between the *Padres* and the seaman, out of which I, in the character of mediator, came off with a drubbing. The night was fine, and passed without incident.

15*th* day:—Mass was said early. The morning broke clear and calm. A cuddy was fixed up for the seaman to sleep in apart, and be as a stranger among us. Some rain was experienced during the day, and there was a fresh breeze from the N.E., which continued through the night.

16*th* day:—It dawned fairly clear, and with the wind at S.E., light, which presently shifted to N., fresh, and there was a fairish sea running in the harbour till towards nightfall.

17*th* day:—It dawned rather cloudy with the wind at N., fresh, and a sea on. To-day a number of people came from the neighbouring district called *Ahui* to present hogs and rolls of cloth to the *arii* Tetuaounoona[1], the morrow being the day for his public acclamation or induction to official power by the Chiefs of the *Tayarapu* province. The same wind and sea continued, till towards nightfall.

18*th* day:—It dawned cloudy with the wind S.E., fresh, and some rain. There was a further gathering [of the clans] for the induction already announced, which commenced with *opure* or prayers offered up by the *tahua* or

[1] Tetua-ounumaona. But *cf.* p. 187, *note* 2.

priests in a cemetery or *marae* named *Guayotaha* to Teatua their God, called Opunuá. The length of time these natives allot for mourning the death of the predecessor of the *arii*, before celebrating the new one's instalment is remarkable. The same wind continued, the sky became bright, and the night was fine.

19*th* day:—It dawned cloudy, and calm. The swearing in [ceremonies] were brought to a close[1]: and there was a fresh breeze blowing from N.E., and at night S.E., light.

20*th* day:—It dawned clear and calm, wind S.E., light: the night fine and the heavens bright.

21*st* day:—It dawned clear, and with the wind at S.E., light. I went out with the *arii* and his house-party in quest of mother-of-pearl shells for making up a *parae*, or very intricate shell mask; a chattel much valued among them, for they are fain to ask a hog [in exchange] for each shell. The night was stormy, with thunder-claps and showers.

22*nd* day:—Mass was said early: and the seaman returned to the kitchen. We felt the heat very much during the day and night; and there were some slight showers.

23*rd* day:—It dawned clear and with the wind at S.E., light. The night was clear too, and there was then a moderate breeze from the S.E.

24*th* day:—It dawned clear, and calm. During the rest of the day there was rain, with a light variable wind; the night was fine, and the wind then S.E., moderate.

25*th* day:—It dawned clear and with the wind fresh, from N. The afternoon passed with rain and thunder, and the night with some downpours and squalls from the N.W.

[1] It is to be regretted that Máximo has not left a description of the ceremony, none being in existence in regard to the Vehiatuas; though Ellis [Bibl. no. 36, 2nd edition, vol. III, pp. 107–13] compiled an account from hearsay statements having reference either to Tu or his son, or perhaps to Chiefs of Ra'i-atea or Huahine.

26*th* day:—It dawned somewhat cloudy, and rainy: at mid-day it cleared up with a fresh breeze from the N. In the afternoon there was rain again, and squalls came over from the S.W. I warned the *Padres*, this night, that it was my intention to change my lodgment on the morrow, in order to avoid the unpleasantnesses which have occurred so repeatedly.

27*th* day:—It dawned cloudy with heavy rain, and the wind from N.W., fresh. In the morning I set about putting my project for a new lodging into practice: upon learning which the natives to the number of five hundred souls joined me, and began, some of them to carry the materials, others to tidy and tread down the soil, and make all the various preparations for building a house to contain several apartments and be fairly roomy, which was nearly finished in the course of the afternoon. Its situation was not twenty[1] distant from the *Padres'* dwelling. I regaled them all with a meal furnished out of produce from the gorge of *Ataroa*, which the deceased Vehiatua had assigned to me for my private fare. I passed the night without incident; the wind being from the S.W., fresh; though there was some rain.

28*th* day:—It dawned clear, with some rain, and wind from the E., fresh. The house was completed and the night was fine but cloudy.

29*th* day:—It dawned cloudy, and calm. I made some additions to my dwelling in the shape of a yard, and fore-court, and quarters for the better accommodation of the crew of our craft[2], being more roomy and better arranged. The night was clear and passed without incident.

[1] There is no blank in the MS. but some word has got left out. Presumably the missing word was *brazas* (fathoms); there is no mention of Máximo's move in the *Padres'* diary.

[2] The word used is *embarcación*, which might mean the frigate now daily expected to return; but by the context it seems to refer more probably to the twin-hulled canoe which Vehiatua had given to the Mission, as mentioned at pp. 109 and 113.

30*th* day:—It dawned clear and with the wind at S.E., fresh. The natives brought me word that our ship was in sight, and as she was almost opposite us, at a distance of five or six leagues from the harbour, I embarked in a double canoe with the *arii's* step-father to go off and board her, and we arrived alongside when it was already nightfall, pretty tired with our exertions. The rest of the night was passed in great part in recounting to his Honour the Comandante D. Cayetano de Langara and the gentlemen officers all the events that had happened, as I have related.

MONTH OF NOVEMBER

1*st* day:—The morning broke with rain-squalls and contrary winds, owing to which we were not able to make the harbour, and reckoned ourselves farther off the land than on the previous day.

2*nd* day:—It dawned clear, with the wind at S.E., fresh, and when the frigate was at a distance of two miles from port I proposed to his Honour the Comandante that he should allow me to step into my canoe and make for the shore, in order to get all the piraguas together in readiness to give him a tow, which by the help of a good deal of labour on the part of the natives I succeeded in doing in the course of the afternoon, when we came to an anchor, with the loss only of a kedge. The crowding and bustle among the natives caused by the arrival of our people were very great.

3*rd* day:—It dawned clear and calm, a little later on a breeze set in from the S., fresh. The job of mooring the frigate was accomplished, and the rest of the day passed without incident other than the continued massing of the natives.

4*th* day:—It dawned clear, and with the wind S., light. The frigate was beflagged, and a salute was fired in honour of our Monarch, which caused gratification as well as terror to the natives. The night passed without incident.

5*th* day:—It dawned cloudy, but cleared up a little later with a breeze from the S.S.E. The remainder passed without incident.

6*th* day:—It dawned rather cloudy, with the wind at S., moderate. The carpenter landed, with a few others, to cut some timber called *etoa*, which is like guaiacum. A letter was passed by the Comandante to the *Padres*, desiring them to state their reasons for not wishing to continue at their post. The night passed with a few showers.

7*th* day:—I went on board at daybreak, and nothing special occurred beyond the thronging of the natives, [anxious] to see their friends and carry on their barter.

8*th* day:—His Honour the Comandante ordered Lieut. D. Nicolas Toledo to take down from me the interpretation of a statement [to be made] by the Indians who had reached this island of *Otahiti* when blown out of their course from that of *Mataiva*[1]; of which an account will be given in due place[2]. The *Padres* replied to-day with some lukewarmness: and his Honour the Comandante addressed a further letter for them to answer in terms of a definite resolve, failing which he could not receive them on board. They replied resolutely that they would not stay on unless a guard of soldiers were left with them, and other provisions impossible to be accorded them; in consequence of which it was immediately ordered that they should embark[3].

9*th* day:—It dawned clear, and with the wind S.E., fresh. Our embarkation was accomplished, and we were much put to it by the lamentations of the natives at our departure. As for me, I was obliged to attend to my necessary arrangements in the evening, because those who called themselves my relations would not leave me free.

10*th* day:—When the main part were all embarked, his Honour the Comandante ordered the interpretation of the handing over of the *Padres'* house and mine to be made

[1] *Cf.* pp. 133–4 and *note* 1. [2] *Cf.* vol. II, pp. 385–8.
[3] For the full correspondence see vol. II, pp. 376–384.

clear to the mother of the *arii* in the presence of their Honours the officers: which act I performed, and the mother of the *arii* promised to maintain them always in repair, and to take care of all the furniture such as bedsteads, tables, benches, and casks that we had left in them[1]; and said she would keep account on one of the posts of the number of moons, or months, we should be away[2]. She showed much concern, with considerable weeping, in spite of the consolation that we should return in a short time. Everything being finished up we retired on board at sunset, and the night passed without incident.

11*th* day:—We watered ship. His Honour the Comandante ordered the bull and the cow that were in the island to be re-embarked, his only reason for this being to leave no such stock for the benefit of any strangers who might come here. The shipment of the said animals was, in effect, carried out though at the cost of much trouble, for the cow got adrift from the boat, so that we did not sail until the following day. There remained in the island a she-ass, a male calf, swine, fowls, and dogs; but of these last kinds there is no lack among the natives, from the ones they had got from the English, and from ourselves in the three voyages we had made. We also left them some goats and cats. The English left them, over and above the foregoing, some geese, Barbary sheep, and spaniels[3].

[1] William Ellis (not the missionary, but the surgeon's mate of H.M.S. *Discovery*) mentions only "a table, two or three stools, an old tub, an old gold laced hat, and a few other trifling articles" found in the house by Captain Cook's officers in August, 1777 [see vol. II hereof, p. 480, and Bibl. no. 107, p. 126]. No other authors mention any furniture; nor does the record of months cut on one of the posts of the house appear to have been noticed.

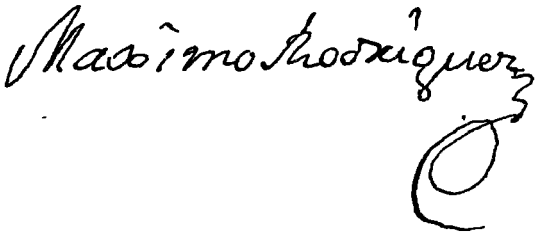
[2] The customary method employed by Polynesians for marking the passage of time is to cut a notch in a stick for each moon.

[3] In a letter written by Captain Cook to the Secretary of the Admiralty, dated from Unalaska, October 20, 1778, he says—[*extract*] "I found that the Spaniards from Callao had..... brought to, and left on, the island goats, hogs, and dogs, one bull and a ram, but never a female of either of these species, so that those I carried and put on shore there were highly acceptable. These consisted of a bull and three cows, a ram and five ewes, besides poultry of four sorts, and a horse and mare with Omai."

12*th* day:—We made sail at ten in the forenoon, notwithstanding that the wind held in the N.E., which was a head wind for us; and as soon as we had got sea-room we hoisted in the launch and the yawl. Although some of the natives desired to come with us we did not grant this wish to any one of them, lest we should expose ourselves to the loss of our reputation among these Indians; for since five out of the eight whom we carried to Lima in the first and second expeditions had died they might suppose that we had taken their lives. For this reason two of them, who were discovered hiding in the space beneath one of the mess tables, were started overboard, in such wise that they could regain their canoes which were close by. Knowing this, and fearing a denial, I refrained from begging his Honour the Comandante to allow me to bring away with me a boy of thirteen or fourteen years, of handsome mien and great promise, for he was first cousin to Otù, the principal *arii* of the island.

Everything having been attended to, we asked God to grant us a good voyage.

On the 3*rd* day of February we saw some *sargazo*, being in the latitude of eight and a half degrees; and arrived here in the port of El Callao on the 18th of the same month, and year 1776; and the mission was brought to a close.



A MEMORIAL

SUBMITTED BY THE AUTHOR OF THE DIARY

TO THE VICEROY OF PERU

IN THE YEAR 1788;

WITH

A COVERING DESPATCH, AND THE KING'S AWARD.

**

A DESPATCH

(with Enclosure)

[from the Viceroy of Peru, to the Secretary of State for the Indies[1].]

No. 92.

Most Excellent Señor,

Transmitting the Petition of Don Maximo Rodriguez and a copy of his Diary, together with a remarkable stone bowl brought by him from Otahiti; and recommending him for the enjoyment of H.M.'s bounty.

Don Maximo Rodriguez having intimated to me that a *stone bowl*, which he had brought from the Island of Otahiti, was in the possession of Dⁿ Jayme Palmer, a resident of this city and formerly Steward to my predecessor the Viceroy Don Manuel de Amat, I made arrangements to have it brought into my presence. Now that I have inspected it and been told by the said Dⁿ Maximo of the high esteem with which those Islanders regarded it, having dedicated it to their God in his sanctuary as a very choice object, and the principal *Arii* of the Island having for the same reason only parted with it after many entreaties, and subject to the stipulation and condition that it should be destined for the hands of our Catholic Monarch, it has seemed to me proper that I should send it forward to Your Excellency, in order that it may be installed in the Gallery of Natural History as a specimen from that Island wrought by men who have no knowledge of iron and no tools adapted for carving such a thing; or that some other suitable lodgment be assigned to it.

I have accordingly given directions for it to be shipped on the manifest of the free-trade frigate named *el Dragón*, and

[1] Archivo de Indias: *Audiencia de Lima* [110–4–17], *Año de* 1788.

the Bills of Lading are being made out to the President of the Royal *Casa de Contratación* at Cádiz in order that he may take possession of the case in which the bowl is contained, and hold it at Your Excellency's disposal.

At the same time when the said Rodriguez brought the foregoing facts to my notice he laid before me the annexed Diary, accompanied by a writing of which I likewise transmit a certified copy to Your Excellency's hands. The services rendered by this good vassal, and the fact that they have gone unrewarded, may be gathered from each one of these documents; for until now but scant attention has been paid to a record which, in my view, is of great curiosity and importance, and was much more so in those times when the voyages of Captain Cok [*sic*] and Wallis had scarcely yet come to light. The Diary is, as I am informed, the only one kept during the expedition that was despatched from the port of El Callao in the year 1774, now past, to the above-mentioned Island of Otahiti. This Dⁿ Maximo went with it in the capacity of Interpreter, being proficient in the language of those natives; amongst whom his ingenuousness, sagacity, and prudence won for him their deepest affection; and it was chiefly or wholly to this circumstance that the undertaking in question owed its conclusion in safety, for the two missionary *Padres* and the other lad who was with them as a menial gave, it seems, ample cause for drawing upon themselves the disaffection, not to say odium, of those unbelievers, in consequence of which our nation missed the laurels it should have gained through four of its subjects living for the space of nine months[1] in an unknown country peopled by barbarians and infidels; whereas Dⁿ Maximo earned the goodwill of them all, as affirmed by the aforesaid Cok in [the journal of] his voyage.

These signal merits and services rendered appear to me to give the said Dⁿ Maximo a claim to the enjoyment of the Sovereign's favour; wherefore, and seeing that his profession was that of arms, I consider him worthy of the rank and pay

[1] Máximo lived on shore from December 19, and the *Padres* from December 31, 1774, until November 9, 1775. The frigate's unbroken absence extended from January 28 until November 2.

of a sub-lieutenant in the Army, or of such other reward as may better accord with His Majesty's pleasure.

May God watch over Your Excellency many years. Lima; March 31st, 1788.

Most Excellent Señor,

Your most obedient and faithful Servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

EL CAV^RO DE CROIX.

To the Most Excellent Señor

The Bailio Fray Don Antonio Valdés.

[*Enclosures*]

THE MEMORIAL OF DON MAXIMO RODRIGUEZ.

[*Enclosure in Despatch no.* 92.]

Most Excellent Señor,

Don MAXIMO RODRIGUEZ, at the feet of Your Excellency, with the greatest submission states:

THAT, having filled a post as private soldier in the Corps of Marines in the year 1767 when H.M. Ship *San Josef* (alias the *Peruano*) proceeded to Spain, conveying the expatriated Jesuits, he was after her arrival at Cadiz drafted with his company into the Cartagena division, where he served in the battalions stationed at that place until he joined the ship *Astuto* which, with others of the Royal Squadron under Don Antonio Arze's command, came to this city of Lima. In the course of that voyage he underwent the many immeasurable hardships which, as is well known, befell that squadron; even to being twice scattered before reaching the roadstead of El Callao.

After remaining two months in this port Petitioner shifted into H.M.'s ship of the line *San Lorenzo* which, with the frigate *Santa Rosalia*, was then fitting out for a voyage of exploration to "David's" or *San Carlos'* Island. On the successful termination of that expedition he was appointed in the year 'seventy-two to a post in the one which was despatched to the Island

of Otahiti, or "Amat's," in the brief course of which Petitioner became noted for getting into intimate touch with the natives there; so that on his return to the port of El Callao his Honour the Comandante Don Domingo Bonechea, and other gentlemen officers, condescended to mention him to his Most Excellent Lordship the Viceroy Don Manuel de Amat who, having made several trials of the Petitioner's proficiency in the language, by means of dialogues conducted in his Excellency's presence between Petitioner and the natives who came from the said Island, decided to employ him in the second expedition.

And the Lord Viceroy did in effect send out two missionary priests for the spiritual conquest of the said Island and those in its neighbourhood, and appointed the Petitioner to be Interpreter in this delicate commission. After their arrival at the Island, the ships in which they were conveyed to it departed homewards, and the party resided there to the number of only four persons for the space of ten months, with no protection other than God's and their own conduct, in the course of which it turned out that the Petitioner had to bear the chief part of the burthen of the trials and hardships they passed through, not only by reason of the constant anxieties attending his repeated exploration of the said islands, sometimes by sea and at other times by land, while trusting solely to the goodwill of the natives for his safety, but also because of the unbroken regularity of the domestic worries and ill humour he had to put up with. Some of these circumstances have found expression in the pages of the Diary he now submits in fair copy, the keeping of which also cost him not a few anxieties, being at times obliged to write it in pencil, at others to resort to some makeshift ink[1] that he prepared in secret, because of I wot not what grudge and suspicions entertained by his companions against what he might write; knowing as they did that he was officially bidden to keep a diary, as well as to travel about the island, in order that he should report on

[1] The Tahitian flora is rich in stains or dyes, many of which the natives used for colouring and figuring their cloth, and other purposes. See Cuzent's work especially [Bibl. no. 34].

the manners and customs of its people, in pursuance of the tenour of the Instructions given him.

Your Most Excellent Lordship will thus readily understand that the Petitioner went about during those nine months in a state of continual strain and anxiety, not merely that he might duly perform the offices allotted to him by the higher authorities, but also in the endeavour to gain, as he succeeded in doing, the goodwill of all the native inhabitants of the island, whose affection for him was perchance, indeed, the cause of some disasters being averted.

As a reward for this the Petitioner, on his return to Lima, was given an honorary post as a halberdier in his Excellency's company of Archers; but, as the Señor Guirior was at that time already on his way here to succeed the Señor Amat in the viceroyship, affairs became unsettled; so that neither the papers the Petitioner had prepared, nor the various chattels and rare implements he had been able to collect in the Island, met with the attention that was their due. Of the papers, the Vocabulary of the native language that Petitioner had compiled got lost; and so also did the portion descriptive of usages customs and rites, to which reference is several times made in his Diary under the title of *Extracto.* And as to the objects collected, Your Excellency may divine what has become of them by merely recalling to mind how Your Excellency had to rescue the one most prized of all in the natives' estimation, as a thing sacred to their God (and which, considering its singularity and the anxieties its acquisition cost me, besides many other cares incident to its removal from the Island), from the kitchen of a private individual who had dedicated it to the washing up of dishes, in spite of its being, as it really is, a treasure worthy of a niche in the Royal Cabinet for which it was destined.

From that time forward no one remembered the Petitioner except to beg information from him, or gain possession of this or that paper, or of such remnant as was left him of the objects he had collected in the island: which he was glad enough to sell, seeing the straits and needy circumstances in which he found himself.

The post of halberdier which had been given him not sufficing for the mere support of his family, Petitioner saw himself compelled to enter into business in order to meet his obligations; and finally, in the course of military reforms that were introduced in the year 'eighty-four, it fell to his lot to be one of those retrenched, by which he was deprived of the post in question and its meagre wage.

This, my Lord, was the situation in which your Petitioner found himself when he learned from some acquaintances that Captain Cok [*sic*] had made mention of him in [the narrative of] his voyage, by the name of "Mateema," in terms little favourable to the Petitioner in so far as they relate to what the latter had said against the English nation, though, for the rest, that author confesses that "Mateema" roamed all over the Island and gained the esteem of the natives[1]. In the short prologue which has been added to his Diary the Petitioner now makes answer to him in reference to the passage impugning his veracity, and what really befell in the matter is recorded, moreover, in the Diary itself[2]. But, since many persons at Court will have read Cook's voyage, and not one, forsooth, [doth know of] the Petitioner's Diary, he now places it in Your Excellency's hands for transmission to those of the Sovereign, in order that His Majesty may see therein the simplicity and candour with which Petitioner wrote his narrative, and that more could not be expected from a youth of twenty

[1] Captain Cook's remarks about "Mateema" and what the young Spaniard had alleged to the Tahitians concerning the English nation occur in the second volume of his narrative of the *Resolution's* "Voyage to the Pacific Ocean" in the years 1776 etc., at p. 76 [Bibl. no. 28]. The entire passage is quoted in the introductory Remarks to the present volume, at p. xix *q.v.*

[2] The MS. of Máximo's Diary in possession of the Royal Geographical Society—the only copy known to me, except my own transcript—has no prologue. One of the chats in the course of which Máximo seems to have belittled the English is probably the one he refers to in his entry of February 18, at p. 67 of this volume. Englishmen can afford to be generous towards Máximo in judging the merits of this little controversy; and those of us who have lived in social touch with the natives of Pacific islands will not fail to make allowances for their habits of gossip and exaggeration, and distortion. And see REMARKS, pp. xviii—xix.

years, without education, and labouring under strain and depression as avowed, but not exaggerated, in that same Diary.

From all that has been stated, my Lord, it becomes plain that out of the various services rendered in the course of these voyages, journeys, and delicate duties entrusted to him, the Petitioner has not derived the least recompense or reward, such as the KING our Lord (God preserve him!) dispenses with a free hand to those who have served him in similar commissions. Your Excellency, whose generosity, in imitation of His Majesty's, is well known, will not suffer me in your own time, and now that these small tokens of my services go forward by your hand, to remain without that recompense to which you may deem me a deserving claimant.

Wherefore I beg and entreat of Your Excellency that you will be pleased to place these small fruits of my toil at the island in the hands of the Sovereign, in witness of the fidelity and obedience with which I discharged the important duties that were committed to my care, and that you will at the same time acquaint His Majesty of my good deserts, if such you esteem them, as I trust Your Excellency may of your graciousness be pleased to grant.

MAXIMO RODRIGUEZ.

This is a copy of its original: thus I certify. Lima: March 27, 1788.

ESTEBAN VAREA.

(*With his rubric.*)

AN INSTRUCTION

[issued by the Secretary of State for the Indies, for communication to the President of the *Casa de Contratación* at Cádiz[1].]

In reply to his letter of the 23rd inst., just received, instruct him to pass forward to this Ministry the stone wrought in the form of a bowl which the Viceroy of Peru has sent home, from the island of Otahiti.

San Ildefonso: 30th September, 1788.

Note. This has reference to a despatch of October 1st of this same year to the Viceroy of Peru, transmitting a Commission as Sub-lieutenant of Infantry with full pay in favour of Don Maximo Rodriguez, as a recognition of merit displayed by him at the island of Otahiti: all filed under "Province of Lima" of the same year.

[The above Instruction is the draft of a communication dictated by the Secretary of State (Valdés) to his private secretary, in terms of which a letter was to be prepared for signature and despatch to Cádiz. The *Note* appended to the draft seems to have been written afterwards, merely as an office memo., for future guidance. The President of the *Casa de Contratación's* letter to Valdés, announcing the arrival of the ship *Dragón* and the receipt of the bowl at Cádiz, and the Secretary of State's signed reply to him, of which the foregoing Instruction is a draft, have not come to light; nor has the actual despatch enclosing the commission sent by His Excellency to the Viceroy for delivery to Máximo, who, we may trust and believe, was duly gratified and relieved by his promotion, and by this evidence of His Majesty Don Cárlos III's sympathy and commendation.—ED.]

Archivo de Indias: *Audiencia de Lima* [112–4–11], *Año de* 1788.

POSTSCRIPT.

I HAZARDED a comment, in Volume II (p. xviii), to the effect that the records presented in these pages disclose the history of the Spanish operations at Tahiti and the neighbouring islands in a practically complete form; adding that the omission of two subsidiary documents, extant but not available, was a matter of no real moment. Since Volume II was issued, in 1915, the existence of a manuscript bearing upon the subject, but previously unknown to me, has been brought to my notice, with true Castilian courtesy and nobility of thought, by the author of a scholarly Memoir on Spanish enterprise in the South Seas[1]—Señor D. Ramón de Manjarrés y Bofarull. The narrative which Señor Manjarrés has found is intituled an "Extracto," *i.e.* a summary or abstract, and relates to the *Aguila's* second voyage to Tahiti, in which its author, Juan Pantoja y Arriaga, took part in the capacity of Master's Mate (*piloto*), though his name does not occur in any of the documents at the *Archivo de Indias*. Pantoja's MS.[2] is preserved in the University Library at Sevilla; and has been examined and quoted by Señor Manjarrés, who considers that it is not an official writing but one penned by Pantoja for his private use, being couched in free, picturesque, and jaunty language quite unlike the formal phraseology of a man-o'-war's log-book. It is written, moreover, on paper folded to half-foolscap size, and presents other material features which equally point to the above conclusion.

I am indebted to Señor Manjarrés's kindness for a copy of his Memoir in which an outline of Pantoja's "Extracto" is related, and for many generous allusions to the researches embodied in the present volumes. In closing this, the final tome, may I add that I welcome the opportunity to thank Señor Manjarrés for his kindly sentiments and words, and to reiterate my appreciation of the many courtesies and facilities extended to me by Spanish officials and men of letters with whom I was privileged to come into touch during my several visits to their country?

THE EDITOR.

[1] See the Bibliographic List, no. 132.

[2] Bibl. no. MS. 34. The full title, including the dedication, contains 234 words!

SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS
(XV—XVIII)

(Continued from Volume II)

[For a list of Titles see the CONTENTS: p. viii]

XV.

(*References:* pp. xxvii—xxviii.)

EXCERPT

from THE CALCUTTA GAZETTE (and *SUPPLEMENT*), Calcutta, October 26, 1826. Published by authority: being no. 596 of Vol. XII[1].

"WE have been favoured with the inspection of a Manuscript Journal of a Residence on Otaheite, in 1774–5, which, although it cannot add to the knowledge we now possess of that island and its inhabitants, forms in some respects a curious comment upon the last narrative of our illustrious navigator Captain Cook, and is essential to the explanation of an occurrence which he was at a loss to comprehend.

[The writer next quotes several lengthy passages from Captain Cook's published journal of his last voyage, wherein he related what the natives at Matavai told him about the visits of two Spanish ships to "Oheitepeha" after he was there in 1774, the place these ships had come from, namely "Reema" (*i.e.* Lima), the house the Spaniards built and its occupants the Franciscan *padres*; and especially about "Mateema," as the natives pronounced Máximo, and the animals that were left there. Captain Cook's story of his discovery of the mission house, his inspection of it and the Spanish cross and its inscription, and the grave of the "Commodore," next follow; and the quotation closes with Cook's comments on this information, as printed at pp. 9–10, 11–12, and 75–77 of vol. II of the same work (1784 edition)[2]. The writer of the article in the *Calcutta Gazette* then proceeds in these words]:—

"The Journal to which we advert was kept by the individual here named Mateema, and who was in fact a Spaniard of Lima named Maximo Rodriguez, the former of which appellations the Otaheitans metamorphosed into

[1] Bibl. no. 24. [2] Bibl. no. 28.

Mateema[1]. He appears to have been an officer[2], who had picked up some knowledge of the language of Taheiti, and to have accompanied the mission, for such it was, as interpreter.

"In a previous voyage from the coast of Chili, in 1772, the Spaniards had brought away several natives[3] of the Society Islands, who were converted during their residence at Lima, nominally perhaps, to Christianity. Two of these died, but it was, perhaps, thought, that through the agency of the survivors, Christianity might be introduced into the islands, and it was determined to send them back with two friars, who should be provided with means to make a permanent stay at Otaheite. With this view a frigate, the *Aguila*, and a schooner[4], the *Jupiter*, sailed from Callao on the 20th of September, 1774, and arrived at Otaheite on the 15th of November. After some examination of the neighbouring bays, and after obtaining the concurrence of Bijiatua [*sic*] and Otu[5] (the Waheiadooa and Otoo of Cook), they determined to erect a domicile for the Missionaries at Ojatutira or Oheitepeha[6]. This was done, accordingly; on the first of January possession was taken in due form, and the Cross elevated in the situation described by Captain Cook. Whilst lying at the islands, the Commander of the frigate died, as Captain Cook was informed, and was buried at the foot of the Cross: his name was Don Domingo Bonechia [*sic*], of which last it is not easy to understand how the natives of

[1] That was how Captain Cook wrote the name; but Thomas Edgar, who sailed as Master in the *Discovery* on the same voyage, spelt it correctly in his log as the Tahitians pronounce it, *Matimo* [Bibl. MSS. no. 21 *bis*, quoted in vol. II hereof, p. 475]. Ellis, the surgeon's mate of the *Discovery*, went a step beyond Cook and wrote *Marteemo* [quoted in vol. II hereof, p. 480].

[2] Not an "officer," as we now know, but a simple private of marines, who in his Memorial styles himself "a youth of twenty years, without education" [pp. 217–218 *ante*].

[3] Four, on that occasion, but one never reached Lima.

[4] The *Júpiter* was a three-masted vessel, square-rigged on the fore and main masts, as Andía y Varela's journal proves. Modern nomenclature would term her a small barque; probably carrying a settee or lateen spanker.

[5] O Tu held aloof from the conference, but is said to have given his assent when visited immediately afterwards in his own house.

[6] The editor of the *Gazette* has here adopted the Spanish spelling of Ohatutira, and Captain Cook's "Oheitepeha" for Vaitepiha.

Otaheite made Oreede[1]. The vessels sailed on their return on the 28th of January, leaving on the island the two Missionaries, *Padres* Geronimo and Narciso, the interpreter Maximo Rodriguez, and an attendant.

"The Missionaries seem to have made little effort to convert the natives to Christianity, and they had still less success. Rodriguez admits that they entered very little into the spirit of their mission, and accuses them of want of humanity and kindness. They seem, indeed, very soon to have grown heartily sick of their situation, and to have become morose and ill-tempered. The journal of Maximo shews, that he incurred their frequent displeasure, in consequence of which, probably, he seems to have been of little use as an interpreter, spending his time mostly with the natives and wandering about from one part of the island to another. He was, he says, but twenty years of age, and his youth and vivacity, and his knowledge of their language, made him, as Cook observes, exceedingly popular. He does not seem to have been a man of any science: and, although an intelligent, not a very profound observer[2].

"After spending nine months upon the island, during which the Missionaries seem to have been kindly treated and to have rendered themselves occasionally serviceable in giving medical assistance to the natives, but in which they made, and indeed, attempted to make, no converts, the vessels that brought them there returned to ascertain their condition and progress. It was not the object of the expedition to withdraw them, but the Missionaries protested against being left any longer, unless they were furnished with a guard, and with supplies, which could not be granted them[3]; and they were accordingly taken on board. On leaving the island, the house and furniture were entrusted to the mother of the chief, Bijiatua [*sic*], who himself died whilst the Spaniards were at Otaheite; and we have Captain Cook's testimony that the trust was

[1] *Cf.* vol. II, p. 476, foot-note.

[2] In the absence of Máximo's lost *Extracto* it is not easy to judge his powers of observation. He was certainly tactful at times, but showed narrow-minded bias, due to his religious bringing up, at others. To belittle his services as an interpreter was unfair.

[3] The *Águila* brought supplies for the mission on her third visit: it was a guard and the requisite supplies for a guard that were withheld. The *Padres* demanded an escort of eight soldiers!

most faithfully discharged, and that extraordinary care was taken of the dwelling and its contents.

"The expedition returned to Callao on the 18th of February, 1826 [*sic*][1]. The journal of Rodriguez, which was never printed, remained in the possession of his family, and a copy of it was procured by Capt. Dillon[2], with some difficulty, from his widow at Valparaiso, from which we have derived the preceding account." [*The end.*]

XVI.

(*References:* vol. II, pp. 268–9; III, pp. 45, 244–6.)

EXCERPTS

from "POLYNESIAN RESEARCHES": by William Ellis[3].

(*a*) On Archery Tournaments.

The *tea* or archery was also a sacred game, more so perhaps than any other; it was also called *heiva tea*, play or amusement of archery. The bows, arrows, quiver, and cloth in which they were kept, together with the dresses worn by the archers, were all sacred and under the special care of persons appointed to keep them. It was usually practised as a most honourable recreation between the residents of a place and their guests. The sport was generally followed either at the foot of a mountain or on the sea shore. Before commencing the game the parties repaired to the *marae*, and performed several ceremonies; after which they put on the archers' dress, and proceeded to the place appointed. They did not shoot at a mark; it was therefore only a trial of strength. In a place to which they shot the arrows two small white flags were displayed, between which the arrows were directed.

The bows were made of the light, tough wood of the *purau*[4]; and were, when unstrung, perfectly straight,

[1] A slip, for 1776. The date 1826 was that of the *Gazette*.

[2] An effort I made towards tracing Dillon's copy of the Diary in Calcutta failed signally. So ready and versatile a person as Dillon, with literary aspirations too, must assuredly have carried it home with him to his native Ireland, where he died in 1847.

[3] Bibl. no. 36, *Second edition*, 1831, 16mo, vol. I, pp. 217–220.

[4] The trailing branches of the *purau* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*, Linn.) are certainly light, but by no means tough; and are insusceptible

about five feet long, an inch or an inch and a quarter in diameter at the centre, but smaller at the ends. They were neatly polished, and sometimes ornamented with finely braided human hair, or cord of the fibres of coconut husk, wound round the ends of the bow in alternate rings. The string was of *romaha*, or native flax; the arrows were small bamboo reeds, exceedingly light and durable. They were pointed with a piece of *aito*, or iron-wood, but were not barbed. Their arrows were not feathered, but in order to their being firmly held while the string was drawn, the lower end was covered with a resinous gum from the bread-fruit tree. The length of the arrows varied from two feet six inches to three feet. The spot from which they were shot was considered sacred. There was one of these within my garden at Huahine; it was a stone pile about three or four feet high, of a triangular form, one side of the angle being convex.

When the preparations were completed the archer ascended this platform and, kneeling on one knee, drew the string of the bow with the right hand till the head of the arrow touched the centre of the bow, when it was discharged with great force. It was an effort of much strength in this position to draw the bow-string so far. The line often broke; and the bow fell from the archer's hand when the arrow was discharged[1]. The distance to which it was shot, though various, was frequently three hundred yards. A number of men, from three to twelve, with small white flags in their hands were stationed to watch the arrows in their fall. When those of one party went farther than those of the other they waved the flags as a signal to the party below. When they fell short they held down their flags, but lifted up their foot, exclaiming *uau pau*, beaten.

This was a sport in the highest esteem, the King and Chiefs usually attending to witness the exercise. As soon as the game was finished the bow, with the quiver of arrows, was delivered to the charge of a proper person:

of polish. The dark coloured heart-wood of the stem and older branches is dense and durable, but cannot be termed light, nor pliant, though Moerenhout calls it flexible (*Cf. postea*, p. 244).

[1] *Cf.* Andía y Varela's account in vol. II, p. 268; he says the reason for dropping the bow in the act of letting fly the arrow was to save the hand from being injured by the recoil.

the archers repaired to the *marae*, and were obliged to exchange their dress, and bathe their persons, before they could take refreshment or enter their dwellings. It is astonishing to notice how intimately their system of religion was interwoven with every pursuit of their lives. Their wars, their labours, and their amusements were all under the control of their gods. Paruatetavae was the god of archers.

The arrows they employed were sometimes beautifully stained and variegated. The bows were plain, but the quivers were often elegant in shape and appearance. They were made with the single joint of a bamboo cane, three feet six or nine inches long and about two inches in diameter. The outside was sometimes handsomely stained, and finely polished at the top and the bottom; they were adorned with braided cord and plaited human hair. The cap or cover of the quiver was a small, handsome, well-formed coconut, of a dark brown chocolate colour, highly polished, and attached to the quiver by a cord passing up the inner side of the quiver and fastened near the bottom. The bow and arrow were never used by the Society Islanders excepting in their amusements; hence [it was], perhaps, their arrows though pointed were not barbed, and they did not shoot at a mark. In throwing the spear, and the stone from a sling, both of which they used in battle, they were accustomed to set up a mark; and practised that they might throw with precision, as well as force.—[The above account, quoted *verbatim* from the second and later editions of Ellis's work, is amended in some respects from that printed in his original one.]

(*References:* vol. III, pp. 162, 197, 246–7.)

(*b*) On Cock-fighting.

The most ancient, but certainly not the most innocent, game among the Tahitians was the *faatiloraa moa*, literally the "causing fighting among fowls," or cock-fighting. The traditions of the people state, that fowls have existed in the islands as long as the people, that they came with the first colonists by whom the islands were peopled, or that they were made by Taaroa at the same time that men were made. The traditions and songs of the islanders, connected with their amusements, are as

ancient as any in existence among them. The Tahitians do not appear to have staked any property, or laid any bets, on their favourite birds, but to have trained and fought them for the sake of the gratification they derived from beholding them destroy each other. Long before the first foreign vessel was seen off their shores they were accustomed to train and fight their birds. The fowls designed for fighting were fed with great care; a finely carved *fatapua*, or stand, was made as a perch for the birds. This was planted in the house, and the bird fastened to it by a piece of cinet[1], braided flat that it might not injure the leg. No other substance would have been secure against the attacks of his beak. Their food was chiefly *poe*, or bruised bread-fruit, rolled up in the hand like paste, and given in small pieces. The fowl was taught to open his mouth to receive his food, and his water which was poured from his master's hand. It was also customary to sprinkle water over these birds, to refresh them.

The natives were universally addicted to this sport. The inhabitants of one district often matched their birds against those of another, or those of one division of a district against those of another. They do not appear to have entertained any predilection for particular colour in the fowls, but seem to have esteemed all alike. They never trimmed any of the feathers, but were proud to see them with heavy wings, full-feathered necks, and long tails. They also accustomed them to fight without artificial spurs or other means of injury. In order that the birds might be as fresh as possible, they fought them early in the morning, soon after daybreak, while the air was cool and before they became languid from heat. More than two were seldom engaged at once, and so soon as one bird avoided the other he was considered as *vi*, or beaten. Victory was declared in favour of his opponent, and they were immediately parted. This amusement was sometimes continued for several days successively, and, as well as the other recreations, was patronised by their idols. Ruaifaatoa, the god of cock-fighters, appears among the earliest of their inferior divinities.—[Bibl. no. 36, second edition, 1831, 16mo, vol. I, pp. 221–223.]

[1] Sennit: made from the fibres of coconut husks.

(*References:* vol. II, pp. 470, 482; III, Plate, p. 186.)

(*c*) Preservation of the bodies of deceased Chiefs.

The bodies of the dead, among the chiefs, were in general preserved above ground: a temporary house or shed was erected for them, and they were placed on a kind of bier. The practice of embalming appears to have been long familiar to them; and the length of time the body was thus preserved depended altogether upon the costliness and care with which the process was performed. The methods employed were at times remarkably simple; sometimes the moisture of the body was removed by pressing the different parts, drying it in the sun, and anointing it with fragrant oils. At other times the intestines, brain etc., were removed; all moisture was extracted from the body, which was fixed in a sitting position during the day and exposed to the sun, and, when placed horizontally at night, was frequently turned over that it might not remain long on the same side. The inside was then filled with cloth saturated with perfumed oils, which were also injected into other parts of the body and carefully rubbed into the outside every day. This, together with the heat of the sun and the dryness of the atmosphere, favoured the preservation of the body. Under the influence of these causes, in the course of a few weeks the muscles dried up and the whole body appeared as if covered with a kind of parchment. It was then clothed, and fixed in a sitting posture; a small altar was erected before it, and offerings of fruit, food and flowers, were daily presented by the relatives or the priest appointed to attend the body. In this state it was preserved many months, and when it decayed the skull was carefully kept by the family, while the other bones etc., were buried within the precincts of the family temple.....

The houses erected as depositories for the dead were small and temporary buildings, though often remarkably neat. The pillars supporting the roof were planted in the ground, and were seldom more than six feet high. The bier or platform on which the body was laid was about three feet from the ground, and was moveable, for the purpose of being drawn out and of exposing the body to the rays of the sun. The corpse was usually clothed,

except when visited by the relatives or friends of the deceased; it was, however, for a long time carefully rubbed with aromatic oils once every day.

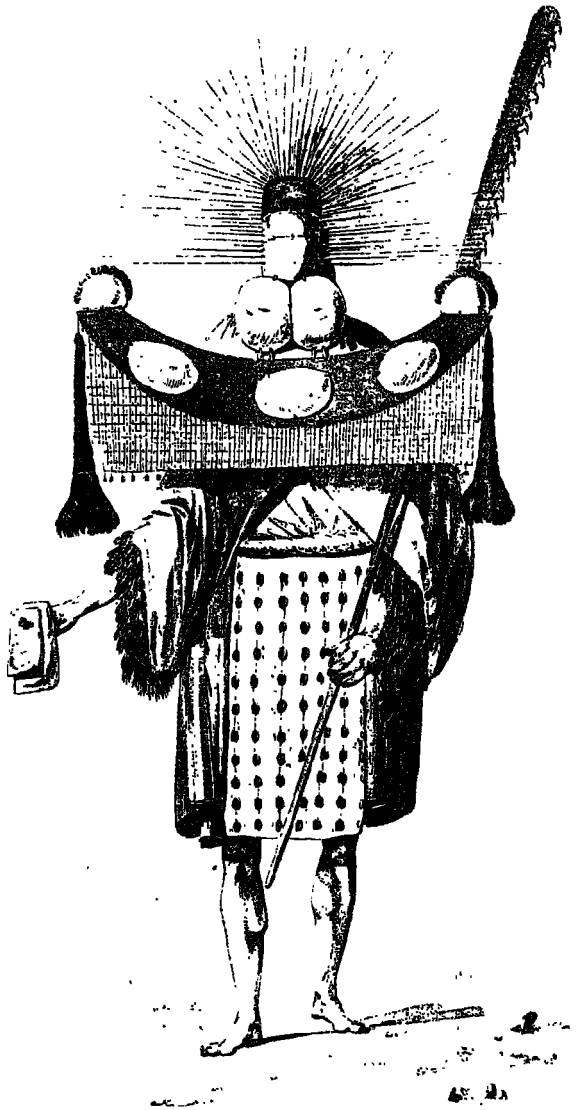
A light kind of altar was erected near it on which articles of food, fruits, and garlands of flowers were daily deposited; and, if the deceased were a Chief of rank or fame, a priest or other person was appointed to attend the corpse and present food to its mouth at different periods during the day.....Notwithstanding the labour and care bestowed on the bodies of the dead, they did not last very long; probably the most carefully preserved could not be kept more than twelve months. When they began to decay the bones etc. were buried, but the skull was preserved in the family sometimes for several generations, wrapt carefully in native cloth, and often suspended from some part of the roof of their habitations.—[Ellis, Bibl. no. 36, second edition, 1831, 16mo, vol. I, chap. XV.]

(*References:* vol. III, pp. 93, 190, 205.)

(*d*) Description of the Chief Mourner's garb.

Soon after the decease of a Chief or person of distinction a singular ceremony, called a *heva*, was performed by the relatives or dependants. The principal actor in this procession was a priest, or relative, who wore a curious dress the most imposing part of which was the head ornament or *parae*. A cap of thick native cloth was fitted close to the head; in front were two large broad mother-of-pearl shells, covering the face like a mask, with one small aperture through which the wearer could look. Above the mask a number of beautiful long white red-tipped tail feathers of the tropic bird were fixed, diverging like rays; beneath the mask was a curved piece of thin, yet strong, board, six or nine inches wide in the centre, but narrow at the ends which, turned upwards, gave it the appearance of a crescent.

Attached to this was a beautiful kind of net-work of small pieces of brilliant mother-of-pearl shell, called the *ahu aua*, each piece being about an inch or an inch and a half long, and less than a quarter of an inch wide. Every piece was finely polished and reduced to the thinness of a card, a small perforation was made at each corner, and the pieces fastened together by threads. They were fixed



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THE HEVA WITH PA'ARAE

perpendicularly to the board, and extended from nearly one end to the other. The depth varied according to the taste or means of the family, but it was generally nine inches or a foot.

The labour of making this part of the *parae* must have been excessive. The many hundred pieces of mother-of-pearl shell that must have been cut, ground down to the required thickness, polished and perforated, without iron tools, before a single line [of them] could be fixed upon the head-dress, required a degree of patience that is surprising. This part covered the breast of the wearer; a succession of pieces of black and yellow cloth fastened to the pearl-shell netting[1] surrounded the body and reached sometimes to the loins, to the knees, or even to the ankles. The beautiful mother-of-pearl shell net-work was fringed with feathers; a large bunch of man-of-war bird's plumage was fixed at each end of the board, and two elegantly shaped *oro-oro* feather tassels, hanging from each end, were attached to the light board also covered with feathers.

In one hand the *heva*[2] carried a *paeho*[3], a terrific weapon about five feet long, one end rounded for a handle, the other broad and flat and in shape not unlike a short scythe. The point was ornamented with a tuft of feathers, and the inner or concave side armed with a line of large, strong, sharks' teeth fixed in the wood by fibres of the tough *ieie*. In the other hand he held a *ieie* or kind of clapper, formed with a large and a smaller pearl-oyster shell beautifully polished[4].

The man thus arrayed led the procession, which came from the valley whither, as if under the paroxysm of grief, the party had retired at the death of the person for whom this was used; and continued, as he walked along, to strike or jingle the shells against each other to give notice of his approach. He was attended by a number of men and boys painted with charcoal and red and white clay, as if they had endeavoured to render themselves as hideous as possible. They wore only a *maro* or girdle, and were

[1] It is not a netting, but a series of fringes one above the other. Ellis had a very poor command of words, and even less aptitude for syntax, though he was very painstaking.

[2] The *heva* was the garb, the wearer, or the function.

[3] A kind of halberd or bill-hook, as one might say.

[4] Glorified castanets, in fact.

covered with these coloured earths. Sometimes the body was painted red, with black and white stripes; at other times the face painted red or black, and the rest of the body red and white. The pigment was mixed with the gum of the bread-fruit tree, that it might adhere to the skin. They were armed with a club or cudgel, and proceeded through the district seizing and beating every person they met with who did not show them the greatest respect; anyone who should ridicule them would be unmercifully cut with the *pacho*. The only remedy was to fly to the king's temple, which was on this, as on some other occasions, a kind of sanctuary or place of refuge. In general all who saw their approach instantly fled, or hid themselves.

They did not enter any of the dwellings but often struck them as they passed by, to the great terror of those within. They appeared, and acted, as if they were deranged; and were supposed to be inspired by the spirit of the deceased to revenge any injury he might have received, or to punish those who had not shown due respect to his remains.

Tui-heva was the god of this singular ceremony.—[Ellis, Bibl. no. 36, second and later editions, 1831 &c., 16mo, vol. I, pp. 412–414.]

XVII.

(*References:* vol. II and vol. III, *passim*.)

EXTRACTS

from a descriptive essay by the late M. Émile de Bovis, on the "ÉTAT DE LA SOCIÉTÉ TAÏTIENNE À L'ARRIVÉE DES EUROPÉENS."

[M. de Bovis was a "Lieutenant de vaisseau," in the French Navy, whose duties took him to Tahiti and the adjoining islands and seas in 1842 and kept him engaged in the hydrographic survey of those waters until 1853. The essay from which the following extracts are culled represents conclusions established by his local researches, in the course of the decade mentioned; and his penetration, fair-mindedness, and total lack of bias, added to the untiring interest he felt in his investigations, have won for his opinions the reputation of being the soundest that were ever

formed on the subjects treated. The essay is no less charming as a literary composition than valuable as a contribution to anthropological knowledge and philosophy; but, unfortunately, it is difficult of access for the ordinary reader, having been published originally in the short-lived *Revue Coloniale* of September and October, 1855. It was reprinted, however, in the first issue of the *Annuaire des Établissements français de l'Océanie*, better known as the *Annuaire de Tahiti*, at Papeete, 1863. Extracts from it are included here to shed a clearer light on the many, but superficial, references to the *marae*, the *tahu'a* or sacerdotal functionaries, and their cult, made by Don Máximo in his Diary.—Ed.]

(*a*) Maraë.

Le *Maraë* était le temple en plein vent de la religion taïtienne. A l'état rudimentaire, il se composait d'une enceinte à peu près rectangulaire et d'un autel sous forme de parallélépipède droit qui occupait le milieu entre les deux grands côtés, mais généralement beaucoup plus rapproché d'un des deux petits côtés qui s'appelait le derrière du *Maraë*, tandis que l'autre côté de l'autel s'appelait le devant du *Maraë*.

Le *Maraë* le plus ancien qu'il y ait aujourd'hui dans ces îles est celui d'Opoa à Raiatea, et la forme de l'autel est telle que nous venons de le dire. Mais, par une raison que nous n'avons jamais pu expliquer, presque tous les autels, surtout à Moorea et à Taïti, diffèrent de forme: ainsi l'autel d'Opoa, dont nous avons indiqué la forme, n'a pas plus de deux mètres et demi de haut: sa longueur, faisant face au devant du *Maraë*, peut être de douze à quinze mètres; son épaisseur, du devant au derrière, de quatre ou cinq mètres. Ce *maraë* fut bâti par Hiro, premier roi de Raiatea, qui devint, après sa mort, le dieu des voleurs. Le *maraë* resta donc la propriété de sa descendance qui, pour honorer le fondateur, lui éleva dans la même enceinte un *maraë* en miniature, situé tout près du petit côté qui regarde la montagne. Ce *maraë* ne représente pas un carré de trois mètres de côté; son autel n'a jamais eu un mètre de haut. Il paraît que la cause de ces petites dimensions était la nature du culte rendu à ce singulier dieu, culte dont les pratiques étaient tout à fait incompatible avec la présence d'un public nombreux.

Dans les autres *maraë* que l'on rencontre encore debout à Taïti et à Moorea quelques-uns sont encore en parfait état de conservation. L'autel présente une forme différente:

le parallélépipède finit en gradins qui règnent sur tout la longueur de sa grande base, sur le devant du *maraë*. Ces gradins étaient, je crois, en nombre variable, mais le plus souvent au nombre de trois. Ils donnaient tout à fait à l'ensemble de la construction l'aspect des autels de nos églises; seulement c'était travaillé grossièrement et sur une échelle beaucoup plus grande, car dans quelques-uns le faîte de l'autel a dû dépasser quinze mètres. La pierre employée dans ces constructions appartenait indifféremment à la roche des montagnes ou aux bancs de corail de la plage. Je crois que le rocher pur était considéré comme formant les constructions les plus nobles. Mais ces roches ignées étaient si difficiles à travailler et à emboîter exactement les unes dans les autres qu'il fallait toujours avoir recours au corail qui, lorsqu'il est appliqué tout vivant, possède une grande force d'adhérence et reste ainsi soudé aux autres cailloux de corail qui l'environnent, se durcissant de plus en plus jusqu'à complète dessiccation. Aussi, dans les *maraë* les plus nobles, les massifs intérieurs des autels sont presque toujours de corail, et dans les revêtements extérieurs on a employé, tant qu'on l'a pu, de larges dalles grossièrement taillées dans la pierre des montagnes.

Outre l'enceinte et l'autel, les *maraë* les plus complets présentaient d'autres compartiments formés dans l'enceinte générale ou en dehors, tout auprès, par des murs d'un mètre de haut comme ceux de la grande enceinte. Ainsi on trouvait, derrière le *maraë*, le charnier du *maraë* où l'on jetait les os et les restes des offrandes, de telle sorte que, malgré le séjour que ces objets avaient dû faire sur le *fatarau*, exposés pendant plusieurs jours au soleil et à toutes les intempéries de l'air, il s'exhalait ordinairement une très mauvaise odeur de cet endroit. Aussi, dans certains *maraë* très nobles et par conséquent très riches en offrandes, était-on obligé de placer le charnier à une certaine distance qui n'était pourtant jamais bien grande.

Sur le devant, se trouvait l'enceinte du *fatarau* ou des offrandes. Le *fatarau* était une grande claie supportée par des pieux, sur laquelle on plaçait du fruit et de la viande consacrés au dieu; la victime humaine n'y était jamais exposée, elle allait directement au charnier quand ces [ses?] migrations étaient finies. Il en était de même des animaux offerts en sacrifice, lorsqu'on en avait prélevé ce qui devait être cuit. En somme, le *fatarau* ne recevait

guère que des aliments tout préparés. A côté du *fatarau* se trouvait habituellement un compartiment qui touchait le bord de l'autel et était réservé au grand prêtre et aux *oreros*. Derrière se trouvait un autre espace entouré de murs pour le prince propriétaire du *maraë*, et le reste de la grande enceinte était occupé par ses parents de sexe masculin, car les femmes étaient toujours en dehors, même des murs extérieurs, avec la lie du peuple.

Il y avait beaucoup de *maraë* où toutes ces cloisons n'existaient pas, excepté la grande qui servait de mur d'enceinte général. Ainsi, à Opoa, il y avait simplement devant l'autel un espace pavé de grandes dalles qui servait à la fois aux prêtres et au roi, les prêtres toujours placés entre ce dernier et l'autel.

L'autel était toujours nu et libre. Personne n'y montait, excepté les gens inspirés ou démoniaques convulsionnaires et le porteur de l'idole. Ce dernier personnage était sacré, bien qu'il ne jouit d'aucune autorité ni d'aucune influence; il devait simplement cette qualité en contact de l'idole qui ne pouvait être touchée que par lui et le grand-prêtre.

L'idole, ou plutôt la grande idole, du *maraë* appartenait au roi en principe; c'était son dieu. Chacun avait le sien. La grosseur diminuait à mesure qu'on arrivait aux basses classes. L'idole d'un *maraë* royal était une pièce de bois telle quelle, mais qui, roulée dans les étoffes indigènes les plus précieuses, entourée et surmontée de plumes d'oiseau les plus rares, pouvait présenter l'aspect d'un homme empaqueté. Cette espèce de paquet pouvait avoir un peu plus de deux mètres de long dans ses dimensions les plus exagérées. Tous les bois n'étaient pas bons à la confection de ce soliveau emmailloté: c'était ordinairement du bois de fer ou du bois d'*ati*[1]. Ces deux espèces d'arbre étaient considéré comme nobles; l'intérieur et les alentours du *maraë* en étaient plantés. Trois ou quatre espèces avaient le même privilége, telles que le *miro*[2], etc. Mais les deux premières espèces paraissent avoir eu le pas sur celles-ci, qui n'avait guère le privilège d'ombrager le *maraë* que dans les lieux où la nature du sol ne se prêtait pas au développement des premières.

[1] Bois de fer, *Casuarina equisetifolia* (Forst.), Tah. *aito*, also *toa*. Bois d'*ati*, also *tamanu*, *Calophyllum Inophyllum* (Linn.).

[2] Bois de *miro*, also *amae*, *Thespesia populnea* (Soland.). See also vol. II, 114 *n.*, 259 *n.*, 260 *n.*

L'idole d'un prince secondaire diminuait de taille dans le *maraë* même dont il était le propriétaire; elle arrivait rarement à quatre pieds de long. Celle des simples nobles et petits chefs n'atteignait guère un mètre et dépassait rarement deux pieds. Enfin, le bas peuple avait des dieux de poche proprement logés dans un étui de bambou d'où il les tirait pour faire ses prières, soit sur le bord du *maraë*, soit à la maison.

Les grandes idoles du *maraë* étaient logées dans une maison particulière qui en était peu éloignée. A Opoa, cette maison était à bonne portée de fusil du *maraë*: elle était sise sur une plate-forme dallée, et le *fatarau* était tout auprès sur une plate-forme voisine. Un ou deux hommes étaient ordinairement commis à la garde de l'idole; c'étaient le plus souvent ceux qui la portaient et quelquefois un prêtre. Quelquefois cette maison acquérait une réputation miraculeuse qui en faisait redouter les approches au voyageur nocturne, ainsi que cela avait lieu à Moorea, au lieu appelé Manono, où l'on gardait l'idole du grand *maraë* de Tehauruaotama.

Ainsi que nous l'avons suffisamment fait pressentir, les princes, les chefs et les petits chefs avaient tous leur *maraë* de famille auquel ils attachaient à peu près la même importance que les seigneurs d'autrefois en pouvaient mettre au château-fort dont ils portaient le nom. Enfin, les familles sans *maraë* se rendaient les jours fériés au *maraë* le plus voisin dans l'enceinte duquel elles ne pénétraient jamais; et dans certains cas, comme le jour du sacrifice d'une victime humaine, tout le monde accourait autour du *maraë* principal.

(*b*) *Personnel du culte et personnel du Maraë.*

Le personnel du culte se composait:—

1. Du maître du *maraë* au nom de qui et pour le bénéfice duquel toute cérémonie était faite. Nous avons suffisamment expliqué qui il était;
2. Le grand-prêtre et son aide, ou ses aides, qui étaient les simples prêtres. Le desservant d'un *maraë* secondaire n'était jamais grand-prêtre;
3. Les *orero*, prêcheurs ou rapsodes;
4. Les *oripo* ou coureurs de nuit (*haerepo* est synonyme de *oripo*);
5. Les porteurs-gardiens de l'idole;

6. Les démoniaques ou sorciers, dont le rôle paraissait soumis à tous les accidents qu'indique leur nom, mais qui devaient forcément être en connivence habituelle avec les prêtres du *maraë*.

(*c*) *Grand-prêtre.*—C'était celui qui jouait le personnage le plus important dans toutes les cérémonies du culte. Le roi seul, possesseur du *maraë*, pouvait passer pour avoir une importance plus grande; mais son rôle était purement passif, tandis que le grand-prêtre, placé entre la divinité et lui, avait un rôle très-actif dans toutes les démonstrations religieuses. Il était même revêtu d'un emblème qui lui conférait une sorte de royauté religieuse: je veux parler du *maro* blanc dont il a déjà été question. Les grands-prêtres seuls des plus nobles *maraë* royaux pouvaient le ceindre. C'était lui qui commandait la marche de toutes les cérémonies, qui les réglait, qui prononçait les prières les plus importantes et qui sacrait les rois. Le sacre se faisait sur le devant du *maraë*, le plus souvent sur une énorme dalle réservée pour ce seul usage. Mais son rôle ne finissait pas dans l'enceinte sacrée; il avait au dehors une influence immense et proportionnée, comme c'est l'habitude, au caractère du roi régent. C'était lui qui décidait que les dieux avaient besoin d'une victime humaine, et le roi la désignait. C'était lui qui ordonnait tout à coup certaines prières solennelles et qui appelait le peuple au *maraë* dans les occasions extraordinaires. Il y avait des fêtes réglées et des cérémonies adaptées à ces fêtes. Elles étaient peu nombreuses; la plus remarquable était celle du printemps où l'on offrait surtout les prémices de certains fruits. Les événements de la guerre étaient aussi l'occasion de cérémonies publiques, d'expiations ou d'actions de grâces[1].

Le grand-prêtre avait une juridiction assez semblable à celle de l'évêque. Elle s'étendait sur les nombreux *maraë* bâtis sur les territoires où régnait son prince; mais cette division n'était pas nécessaire. Tel prince a eu

[1] Certains miracles sortaient du domaine des sorciers pour entrer dans celui du grand-prêtre, celui-ci, par exemple: "Ordonner à la multitude de marcher pieds nus à travers l'immense foyer préparé pour cuire un festin religieux." Il va sans dire que personne ne se brûlait. [This is a reference to the renowned and still mysterious ceremony of the *umu ti*, but the note conveys an imperfect and somewhat wrong conception of it.—Ed.]

quelquefois deux [*maraë*] et plusieurs grands-prêtres dans ses domaines; tel autre, quoiqu'il fût indépendant, avait son *maraë* desservi, dans les circonstances solennelles, par un grand-prêtre qui exerçait les mêmes fonctions chez le roi voisin. Enfin, il y avait des *maraë* neutres, et qui étaient ordinairement desservis par le grand-prêtre le plus en renom du pays d'alentour.

Les grand-prêtres appartenaient presque sans exception aux plus hautes familles princières.

(*d*) *Prêtres.*—Les fonctions des prêtres simples étaient semblables à celles du grand-prêtre, à cette différence près qu'ils lui étaient subordonnés et qu'ils ne pouvaient pas le remplacer dans certaines cérémonies telles que le sacre des rois, etc.

(*e*) *Orero.*—L'*orero* devait avoir des poumons infatigables et une mémoire à toute épreuve. Il était le livre vivant de la religion, de la tradition, des chants sacrés, de la politique, etc. Il devait débiter cela devant le *maraë* au milieu d'une foule immense, sans hésiter et avec une volubilité étonnante. Il fallait pour cela une longue éducation, et être ordinairement fils d'*orero* ou de prêtre. A cette époque beaucoup de gens savaient à peu près tout ce que chantait l'*orero*, mais lui seul pouvait le débiter d'une certaine manière. Il y en avait un ou plusieurs par *maraë*, et il était plus ou moins instruit suivant l'importance du théâtre sur lequel il avait à représenter.

(*f*) *Oripo* ou *Haerepo*[1].—Les *oripo* étaient, en général, des jeunes gens qu'on élevait pour la prêtrise, et ils devaient un jour y occuper un rang proportionné à leur habileté, et surtout à leur naissance. Ils remplissaient dans le *maraë* des emplois subalternes comme assistants des simples prêtres, et comme eux, étaient placés sous les ordres du grand-prêtre. Mais ils avaient une fonction spéciale qui peint très bien leur nom: ils étaient coureurs de nuit; en un mot, l'espionnage de leur district pendant la nuit, et celui des ennemis en temps de guerre, étaient leurs fonctions les plus importantes. Ce métier était considéré comme fort honorable. Quelques-uns étaient placés

[1] *Haere po* = night walker.

dans cette carrière sans pouvoir prétendre à aucun avancement ultérieur, et gardaient cet emploi toute leur vie, c'est à dire tant qu'ils pouvaient l'exercer.

(*g*) *Porteurs d'idoles.*—Nous avons très peu de choses à ajouter à ce que nous avons déjà dit de leurs fonctions. Le contact du dieu rendait leur personne sacrée comme lui, et il était défendu de leur faire aucun mal et de toucher à leur nourriture. Les grands-prêtres et les *Arii* étaient dans le même cas; seulement le porteur d'idoles, qui était ordinairement un homme du bas peuple, n'avait pas d'autre privilége.

(*h*) *Des inspirés, sorciers ou démoniaques.*

Cette caste, comme on peut bien le penser, n'était pas organisée régulièrement, c'est à dire qu'il n'était pas nécessaire qu'il y eût un certain nombre d'inspirés par *maraë*. Quelquefois il y en avait plusieurs, d'autres fois pas du tout. Le dieu était censé choisir son homme et entrer dans son corps; l'homme le manifestait par un prodige quelconque. Aussitôt le bruit s'en répandait et le corps de cet homme devenait aussi sacré qu'une idole. Il pouvait non-seulement entrer au *maraë* et partout où il lui plaisait, mais même il montait sur l'autel et s'y livrait aux diverses extravagances que lui inspirait le dieu qui était dans son corps. Les prodiges que l'on nous raconte de ces individus ressemblent beaucoup à ceux que nous lisons sur le compte des anciens possédés du démon ou des anciens prêtres ou prêtresses d'oracles. Quelques-uns nous ont été transmis par de vieux missionnaires anglais qui prétendent en avoir été témoins, ce qui nous a beaucoup étonné. Le sorcier n'était pas toujours en état d'inspiration; quelquefois le dieu l'abandonnait, et il redevenait en tous points semblable à un simple mortel. Quelquefois l'inspiration avait lieu par une boutade du dieu, qui saisissait son homme à l'improviste. D'autres fois, il l'appelait lui-même au moyen de certaines formules qui sont aujourd'hui oubliées ou inexplicables. Il est inutile d'ajouter que ces inspirés jouissaient d'une haute considération, et que la naissance n'y faisait rien.....

(*i*) *Cérémonies dans le Maraë.*

Dans certaines occasions principales, comme nous l'avons indiqué plus haut, on accourait au *maraë* de toutes parts

pour rendre à la divinité le culte public, unanime et, pour ainsi dire, officiel. Les *oripo* et les *orero* l'avaient annoncé partout plusieurs jours à l'avance; et aux approches de la cérémonie la grande voix de ces derniers dominait le bruit de la multitude et stimulait son empressement par un rôle analogue à celui des cloches de nos églises ou d'un iman qui, du haut d'un minaret, appelle les fidèles à la prière. Le *fatarau* ploie déjà sous le poids des offrandes dont il est chargé. Les victimes, si ce sont des animaux, sont attachées au pied de l'autel en attendant l'instant du sacrifice. Si c'est un homme, son cadavre, placé dans un panier en feuilles de cocotier tressées, attend devant l'autel l'heure des prières. La multitude entoure l'enceinte sacrée et n'y entre pas; les hommes sont au premier rang, car les femmes ne doivent même pas toucher les pierres du *maraë*. Chacun a son idole sous son bras ou dans sa poche. La famille royale se présente enfin, traverse la foule, qui s'ouvre et lui fait place avec respect; elle entre dans le *maraë*, et le chef de famille va se poster à quelques pas en avant de l'autel. Les prêtres arrivent ensuite, et vont se placer entre l'autel et le roi; le grand-prêtre est au milieu, les *orero* sont derrière, les prêtres sur les côtés, ainsi que les autres assistants subalternes. L'idole arrive sur le dos de son gardien, qui la dépose devant le grand-prêtre au pied de l'autel. Le grand-prêtre lui enlève les enveloppes extérieures dans lesquelles elle est enveloppée; les plumes précieuses et les tissus fins sont exposés au jour, les morceaux de bois restent cachés. Les prières commencent. S'il y a une victime humaine, on présente l'œil au roi, qui fait semblant de l'avaler, et on supplie le dieu de se contenter de la mort de cet homme et de récompenser ceux qui offrent cet holocauste pour la piété dont ils viennent de faire preuve. On le prie d'être propice à l'entreprise que l'on va commencer, qui est ordinairement une guerre. Le grand-prêtre ajoute aux formules reçues par une improvisation adaptée à la circonstance. Si c'est simplement le sacrifice d'un porc, les prêtres l'égorgent au pied de l'autel et l'on tire des augures de sa mort. S'il y avait un défaut dans l'épine dorsale de la victime, si les oreilles se tenaient droites après le sacrifice, on ne devait pas entreprendre de guerre sous peine d'être battu. Les indices donnés par les entrailles étaient plus compliqués, et pour y lire, il fallait être un habile grand-prêtre. Le corps sacrifié était ensuite abandonné à une petite distance

du *maraë* à la voracité des chiens. On tirait aussi dans ces moments solennels d'autres présages du vol et du chant des oiseaux.

Le sacrifice humain paraissait avoir plus particulièrement un but expiatoire. Lorsque le grand-prêtre venait avertir le roi qu'un homme était nécessaire, le roi envoyait une pierre noire au chef du district qu'il lui plaisait de choisir. Celui-ci le désignait à ses gens, et on le tuait autant que possible au moment où il s'en doutait le moins, et avant qu'il sut qu'il était désigné. On le portait ensuite au *maraë* dans un panier en feuilles de cocotier, et le grand-prêtre prononçait sur lui des prières ainsi qu'il a été dit. Mais tous les *maraë* n'avaient pas le droit de retenir ce cadavre; ils devaient ordinairement le faire passer à un *maraë* d'un degré supérieur ou plus saint, et ce n'était que dans ce dernier qu'on avait le droit de disposer du cadavre, que l'on jetait dans un charnier particulier qui n'était autre, quelquefois, qu'un *maraë* distinct, mais voisin du premier et consacré au dieu Tane, tandis que le premier appartenait presque toujours au dieu Oro.

Les *maraë* paraissent avoir été saints, en raison de leur antiquité ou de l'ordre dans lequel ils procédaient de celui d'Opoa. Tous les grands *maraë* royaux reconnaissaient au *maraë* royal d'Opoa une suprématie sur eux-mêmes, et ils le lui exprimaient par un tribut de victimes humaines. Ils devaient lui envoyer un certain nombre de cadavres par an, et ce n'était que le surplus de ce nombre qu'ils avaient le droit de garder dans leur *maraë*. Aussi l'ossuaire d'Opoa était-il énorme.

Il y avait aussi une autre pratique singulière pour ce qui concernait les cadavres consacrés à la divinité. Lorsqu'un homme d'une bravoure éprouvée et célèbre venait à mourir, on ne l'enterrait pas comme les autres. Le grand *maraë* le plus voisin réclamait sa dépouille mortelle, ce qui était un grand honneur pour sa famille. Le corps était hissé au haut d'un des arbres de fer qui ombrageaient l'enceinte ou ses alentours; on attachait le cadavre aussi solidement et aussi haut qu'on le pouvait. Il restait là indéfiniment jusqu'à ce que, par le travail de la décomposition, il eut disparu par lambeaux. Mais cette opération était quelquefois très lente quand le cadavre avait été exposé à un soleil ardent au temps de la sécheresse, et il n'était pas rare que le bocage qui entourait les grands

maraë présentât une douzaine et même plus de ces singuliers ornements.

Quand les prières étaient finies, les prêtres commençaient en chœur un chant que l'on prétend avoir été fort mélodieux, mais que je soupçonne de monotonie s'il ressemblait à ceux qui sont venus jusqu'à nous. Quand les prêtres avaient fini, l'*orero* s'avançait et accomplissait sa tâche; quelquefois il mêlait à son discours quelque chose d'approprié à la circonstance, mais des vieillards assez dignes de foi m'ont assuré qu'il était fort rare que le menu peuple comprit un mot aux prières et aux psalmodies des prêtres, ainsi qu'au débit de l'*orero*.

Pendant que le grand-prêtre dépaquetait l'idole les gens de l'extérieur du *maraë* tiraient les leurs de l'étui et les plaçaient respectueusement sur le sol et sur une pierre pendant toute la durée des prières. Quand le *maraë* était vraiment royal et célèbre, il se trouvait ordinairement à la ronde plusieurs *maraë* secondaires appartenant à des princes ou chefs d'un rang inférieur, et l'on y singeait avec une grande exactitude et une grande simultanéité ce qui se faisait dans le grand *maraë*, bien que les arbres et la distance en interceptassent la vue. Je crois me souvenir qu'il y avait des hommes postés pour communiquer les paroles, mais je n'en suis pas bien sûr.

Quand l'*orero* avait fini de parler (c'était généralement assez long), l'idole était empaquetée de nouveau et replacée sur les épaules des porteurs: chacun remettait son dieu dans son étui, et on l'emportait dans sa poche ou sous son bras suivant ses dimensions, qui étaient toujours en harmonie avec le degré d'importance du propriétaire. Ces dieux portatifs étaient aussi exhibés à domicile lorsque le chef de famille jugeait à propos d'ordonner une prière. Quand la grande idole avait été emportée, la cérémonie était close et l'assemblée se séparait, à moins que le prince ne jugeât convenable de faire publiquement quelque avertissement politique.

Il y avait encore les *tii* qui recevaient un culte public. Ce culte se bornait à quelques offrandes, et comme le *tii* n'était autre chose que le dieu Terme des Romains, on comprend que la dévotion des habitants avait à se partager entre des pierres différentes et que les *tii* d'un district devaient être fort indifférents aux gens d'un district voisin[1].

[1] Though the writer describes the term *ti'i* as representing

On reconnaissait aussi les démons ou génies familiers dont la juridiction ne s'étendait pas au delà du personnel et des propriétés d'une certaine famille, et même d'un certain village; mais ce culte, ainsi que celui des revenants, quoique fort répandu, n'était pas assujetti à des formes régulières. Il fallait connaître leurs goûts: tel esprit aimait telle fleur, ou les fleurs de tel arbre. Malheur à l'imprudent qui eût osé y porter une main sacrilége! Malheur à celui qui s'engagerait sur le bord de certains précipices avec certains fleurs dans les cheveux, surtout s'il avait tel ou tel âge! Ce précipice était hanté par un esprit implacable qui avait l'habitude de précipiter dans l'abîme tout jeune homme qui se hasardait sur les bords avec une couronne de fleurs sur la tête.....

(*j*) Dances.

Nous négligerons les fêtes proprement dites comme nous avons négligé les cérémonies dont elles ne représentent qu'une collection très étendue. L'âme de toutes ces réjouissances était la *upaupa* ou *hiva* [*heiva*], qui n'était autre chose qu'une série de danses dont l'entraînement allait crescendo et finissait le plus souvent par une orgie. Ces danses, plus ou moins indécentes, étaient exécutées au son d'un orchestre composé: 1° d'un ou plusieurs tambours ou plutôt grosses caisses, dont le son s'entend de très loin; 2° d'un certain nombre de flageolets en bambou dans lesquels on souffle avec le nez: leur son est tout à fait analogue à celui d'un mirliton vulgaire; 3° d'un chœur d'hommes disposés sur un ou plusieurs rangs et ordinairement assis, répondant par un refrain cadencé, guttural et inarticulé, à un chant nasillard exécuté souvent en solo par une voix très haute et très claire. L'acteur du solo fait le plus souvent les fonctions de chef d'orchestre; les gens du chœur qui lui répondent en hurlant en cadence assaisonnent leur musique de gestes bizarres exécutés du reste avec une précision d'ensemble très remarquable. Si le chœur est nombreux, et que vous soyez subitement introduit parmi eux pour la première fois, il y a gros à

boundaries—the Roman Jupiter in his character of Terminus—it must not be supposed that the word was used in this sense alone. It was, and is, applicable to any figure carved in the semblance (which may be extremely disguised and remote) of life.

parier que la tête vous tournera comme si la salle entière avait un mouvement de rotation.

Les *hiva* [*heiva*] s'exécutaient en plein vent ou dans de grandes cases construites à cet effet: elles pouvaient être plus ou moins complètes. Le chœur des hurlements est la seule partie indispensable de l'orchestre. Lorsque le divertissement était donné en l'honneur d'un chef, celui-ci le terminait ordinairement par un présent d'étoffes qu'il faisait aux musiciens; cela s'appelait *Tapoi te*, comme on dirait "couvrir l'orchestre," le "mettre sous le boisseau," et en effet le morceau d'étoffe était souvent étendu sur la tête de ceux à qui il était destiné. [Bibl. no. 127.]

XVIII.

(*References:* vol. II, pp. 268–9; III, pp. 45, 225–7.)

EXTRACT

from "VOYAGES AUX ÎLES DU GRAND OCÉAN": par J.-A. Moerenhout. Tome deuxième.

(*a*) On Archery Tournaments.

Le *tea ra*[1], jeu des archers. L'arc s'appelle *fana*; la flèche *eove*[2]. Les arcs étaient faits de "bouraau" (*hibiscus*)[3], mais du cœur de l'arbre, qui est à la fois très-fort et flexible. Ils avaient environ cinq pieds, étaient très-peu courbés, et plus gros au milieu qu'aux deux extrémités. Les flèches étaient de bambou, mais la pointe en était d'un bois fort et pesant "l'eïto" (*casuarina*)[4], et la corde de l'écorce du "roa" (*boehmeria*)[5]. C'était l'amusement favori des chefs, et celui auquel ils se livraient toujours pendant les grandes fêtes. Ils n'avaient point de but, et

[1] *tearaa*, archery.
[2] *ohe*, an arrow.
[3] *purau*, *Hibiscus* (*Paritium*) *tiliaceus*, Linn.
[4] *aito* or *toa*, *Casuarina equisetifolia*, Linn.
[5] *roâ* (*teste* Ellis *romaha*) *Pipturus argenteus*, Wedd. (but *teste* Seemann *P. velutinus*, Wedd.); *Urtica argentea*, Forst.; *Boehmeria argentea*, Guill.

il s'agissait seulement pour chacun d'envoyer plus loin que les autres la flèche, qu'il tirait en mettant un genou à terre. Le lieu qu'ils choisissaient pour ces exercices était toujours quelque pointe de terre sacrée, où les premiers chefs et les membres de la haute aristocratie avaient seuls droit de se présenter. A l'entrée on plaçait des hommes de garde armés chacun d'une lance qu'ils croisaient en forme de barrière; et quand un individu osait s'y présenter, sans être premier chef ou du plus pur sang aristocratique, ils gardaient leurs lances croisées, en baissant les pointes de son côté, pour marquer que l'entrée lui en était interdite; mais ils les relevaient à l'approche de toute personne de la haute noblesse.

Les femmes en étaient indistinctement exclues, quoiqu'elles eussent souvent le même amusement, mais à une certaine distance du lieu où se tenaient les chefs.

Il y avait une espèce de plateforme en pierre où ils montaient pour tirer de l'arc; et des jeunes gens, se tenant à l'autre extrémité avec des pavillons blancs adaptés à des bâtons, indiquaient par certains mouvemens convenus la flèche qui portait le plus loin. Les flèches fréquemment de deux pieds et demi de long, étaient aussi souvent ornées. Chaque archer en avait dix à douze dans un carquois. Le carquois était un morceau de bambou d'environ trois pieds de long sur deux à trois pouces de diamètre, bien poli, le haut et le bas ornés de sculptures, liés soit avec des tresses de cheveux, soit des cordes extrêmement fines. Le couvercle en était la moitié d'une noix de coco, noir et luisant, quelquefois sculpté, et s'y attachait par des tresses de cheveux. L'arc, les flèches, le carquois, étaient de vrais objets de luxe, aussi élégans que riches.

Cet amusement, si exclusif, que les rois et les grands pouvaient seuls s'y livrer, n'en était ni moins soumis à l'inspection des dieux, ni plus exempt de cérémonies. D'abord, ils devaient se rendre au Maraï, où, après quelques prières, ils dépouillaient leurs vêtemens ordinaires pour revêtir le costume d'archer que je nommerai *sacré*, car il ne servait qu'en cette occasion; et ils devaient le rapporter aussitôt après l'exercice au temple où il était remis à un gardien, ainsi que les arcs, les flèches et les carquois. Puis, chaque archer, tous ceux qui avaient pris part à cette récréation, et qui avaient touché ces choses sacrées, devaient se laver tout le corps avant de pouvoir reprendre

leurs habillemens ou toucher à la moindre nourriture.—[Bibl. no. 73, tome II, pp. 148–150.]

(*References:* vol. III. pp. 162, 197, 227–8.)

(*b*) On Cock-fighting.

Les *fatiti raa moa*[1] (combats de coqs) étaient un de leurs plus grands amusemens. Les étrangers qui apportaient des coqs pour combattre dans les fêtes étaient entretenus et bien traités par ceux qui avaient de ces animaux, qu'ils réservaient surtout pour ces luttes. Ils ne faisaient, pourtant, pas de paris, et paraissaient ignorer l'usage de compromettre leur fortune. Dans tous les concours les vainqueurs n'avaient pour récompense que la gloire du succès et l'approbation publique. En ce dernier cas, comme pour toutes leurs autres luttes, quand un coq était vainqueur, ceux à qui il appartenait se mettaient à danser, à chanter, et donnaient tous les signes de la plus vive allégresse. Il est étonnant que sans être mus par aucune vue d'intérêt, ils prisent tant de plaisir à cet amusement; mais il y en avait peu pour lesquels ils fussent aussi passionnés, et le guerrier n'était pas plus fier de sa bravoure qu'un propriétaire de coqs ne l'était de la leur.

Ils prenaient de ces oiseaux des soins propres à faire croire qu'ils leur portaient un attachement rarement manifesté pour aucun être, non pas même pour leurs enfans. Dans chaque maison s'élevait un pilier auquel les coqs étaient attachés avec des cordages faits tout exprès de fibres de noix de coco, qu'ils ne pouvaient rompre; et on les retenait sur des substances plus molles afin de ne pas blesser leurs jambes. Là, non contens de passer des heures entières à les contempler et à les caresser, leurs maîtres se seraient plutôt privés de nourriture que de ne pas donner à manger à leurs oiseaux favoris. Ils les nourissaient toujours eux-mêmes, de fruit à pain ou d'autres végétaux qu'ils leur mettaient dans le bec après leur avoir appris à l'ouvrir, comme on apprend à un enfant à ouvrir la bouche pour recevoir les alimens.

Il y avait peu de maisons où il n'y eût au moins un de ces oiseaux. Chaque district en possédait toujours un grand nombre; et l'on se portait souvent des défis, non-seulement de particulier à particulier, mais de district à

[1] *faatitoraa moa*, cock-fighting.

district, ou même d'île à île, pour des combats de coqs, qui duraient souvent plusieurs jours—car on ne les laissait se battre que le matin de bonne heure, ou vers le soir quand l'ardeur du soleil était passée. Les prouesses de ces valians oiseaux étaient rappelées et célébrées en des ballades, et chantées comme les hauts faits des plus braves guerriers. On se souvient de combats de coqs livrés de temps immémorial, entre districts, et ils en conservent la mémoire comme celle de leurs grandes batailles.—[Bibl. no. 73, tome II, pp. 146–148.]

GLOSSARY

of vernacular and foreign terms which occur in the Diary of Máximo Rodríguez.

(*The key words are of Tahitian origin, excepting those signified as otherwise.*)

Abbreviations.—*Ant.* = Antillian or Carib. *Fr.* = French.
Gr. = Greek. *Port.* = Portuguese.
Qch. = Quechuan. *Sp.* = Spanish.
Sp. Amer. = Spanish American.

arii, any high Chief of notable hereditary rank; but especially the head Chief of a Province or District. All the Spaniards wrote this word wrongly, *Eri*; the true etymological form is *ari'i*. *Passim*.

arroba (*Sp.*), a Spanish measure of weight generally equal to 11·5 kilos, or about 25 English pounds, 78, 101, 116, 130.

aturi, purslane (*Portulaca lutea*, Soland.), 78.

aute, the paper mulberry tree (*Broussonetia papyrifera*, Vent.), whose liber, or inner bark, is extensively used by the natives for the manufacture of their cloth, which is not a woven fabric, 49. (The *Hibiscus Rosa-sinensis*, Linn., is also called *aute*.)

ava, an aromatic shrub (*Piper methysticum*, Forst.) much cultivated, and seemingly indigenous, in the larger Pacific islands of volcanic formation; but absent from the flat, sandy atolls. A cold aqueous infusion made from the woody rhizome (first chewed or grated), without any solid or liquid adjuvant, is, after being freed from its cellulose by straining through hibiscus bast, much used by natives as a ceremonial beverage, and in domestic life. In Tahiti the supply of *ava* was never abundant; hence its use there was restricted to Chiefs, and as a concomitant at festivals and during certain functions conducted in the *marae*. *Ava* is not a fermented drink, as many books and encyclopaedias would have it; it is entirely free from alcohol, and is only fit for consumption when it is plainly and quite freshly prepared. Quaffed in moderation it assuages thirst and produces, in most persons, a feeling of vigour and contentment, like tea or coffee does; but excessive or habitual indulgence in *ava* tends to induce cerebral hyperaemia,

evidenced by blood-shot eyes, drowsiness, apathy, and neglect of the toper's daily obligations. If persisted in, emaciation and free desquamation of the cuticle ensue. All the ill consequences of over-indulgence wear off, however, when the *ava* habit is given up. A resin, which has been called "kavain," can be extracted from the root and exhibits marked anaesthetic properties when locally applied. Both Vehiatua and Hinoi are said to have been immoderately addicted to *ava* tippling. Most Europeans find the mode of preparing the drink repulsive and the flavour of the *ava* very nauseous; but many "old hands" in the Pacific indulge in it in spite of these deterrents. In some islands the plant is called *kava*, in others *awa*, and in Fiji *yaqona*, 6, 50, 52, 59.

bejuquillos (*Sp.*), diminutive of *bejuco*, any large climbing plant of the forest. Máximo refers by this term to the finer sort of thin canes or creepers that grow a great length and are used by natives for binding, or as lashings, in house-building operations, fencing, etc. 153 *n.*

braza (*Sp.*), a fathom; but the Spanish fathom measured only about 5½ English feet, 169.

Buda, *balsamo de* (*Sp.*), the resin of *Pinus Pumilio* (Haenke), collected in Hungary from lacerations of the bark, 153.

calabaza, *balsamo de* (*Sp.*), the allusion is probably to balsam of Tolu, which it is customary to collect in calabashes and which used to be sold in them in the crude state. Externally applied, balsam of Tolu has no therapeutic value; and, as an adjuvant to medicinal agents for internal use, next to none. Had Máximo meant to denote b. of "calaba" he would probably have named it b. of María, which is a commoner term for it in South America. The *tamanu* tree of Tahiti produces a similar exudation, like the tacamahaca of India and Madagascar, 160–1.

chaquiras (*Sp. Amer.*), very small glass beads, or imitation seed-pearls, formerly a common article of barter used by the Spaniards in their traffic with Peruvian natives, 7.

chirimoya (*Qch.*), the luscious Peruvian fruit *Anona Cherimolia*, Mill., which resembles a custard apple. The name is derived from *chiri*, cool, and *moya*, a fruit, 79.

cuarta (*Sp.*), a fourth part of anything; in the instances used it means a quarter of a *vara*, say 8 inches, 90.

cuculies (*Sp. Amer.*), a colloquial term of onomatopœic origin in tropical South America applied to doves and the lesser fruit pigeons. The singular form is *cuculí*, 123 *n.*

efare evanoa, incorrectly so written for *fare va'a noa*, a commoner's canoe-cuddy, 121.

efarenoa, incorrectly so written for *fare noa*, a commoner's house, or cottage, 115.

efata, written for *fata*, a staging or scaffold, in this instance a bier elevated (for security) on a high framework, 11.

ehuapipi, quoted by Máximo as meaning "the day for this function," in reference to *Arioi*; but it seems rather to mean "we are all novices," *i.e.* cadets or aspirants, 135.

epori, for *pori*, fattened up, sleek, 135.

epure, for *pure*, service of prayer, to pray, 44.

eratiras, incorrectly written for *ra'atira*, the native gentry below the rank of Chiefs but senior to the *manahune* or commoners: yeomen cultivators &c., 105.

esmeril (*Sp.*), a small cannon, usually of bronze or brass, with a bore of 37 *mm.* and weighing about 350 pounds. It threw a 10 ounce ball, 59, 196 *n.*

etamanu, for *tamanu*, the large and handsome tacamahaca tree (*Calophyllum Inophyllum*, Linn.), also called *ati* in Tahiti. It is the well-known *vu ni dilo* of Fiji, 173.

etatára hara, for *tatara hara*, to expiate; or make excuses, apology and reparation for a fault, 202.

etoa, for *toa*, the weeping iron-wood tree (*Casuarina equisetifolia*, Linn.), also called *aito* in Tahiti, and *vu ni nokonoko* in Fiji. Its wood is of a beefy red colour, very hard and durable; but Máximo is at fault in likening it to guaiacum wood. This tree is often planted by the side of graves, on account of the mournful sighing sound created by the wind traversing its leafless, twig-like, branchlets; formerly it was one of the trees aptly employed to adorn the sacred enclosures of the *marae*, 173, 194, 208.

etoy, for *toi*, probably a tree of the Order RHAMNEAE, either *Alphitonia excelsa*, Reiss., or *A. zizyphoides*, A. Gray, 144.

euros, for the plural of *uru*, bread-fruit, 23–4, 28, 49, 50, 58, 61, 80–1, 124, 149.

evara, incorrectly written for *e va'a ra'a*, meaning "it is a royal, patrician, or sacred canoe," 121.

evarua, for *varua* (also *vairua*), the souls or spirits of the dead, 193 and *n.*

evea, for *vea*, a messenger, envoy, or go-between, 185.

evi, for *vi*, the fruit of *Spondias dulcis*, Forst. It resembles a mango, but is inferior in flavour to a really good one; and is the Brazilian or hog plum of tropical America and other

warm regions. The tree is tall and straight-growing; but its timber is soft, perishable, and useless, 28.

evi, Máximo once uses this term to express something by which to hang up bunches of plantains. Its identity is undetermined, but it may possibly be meant for *heri*, to secure by a cord, 143.

e vihi, for *vihi* or *vehi*, which means a wrapper or wrapping, envelope or sheath; and Máximo uses the word to denote the pile of native cloth, presented at a *heiva*, after it has been shed by the dancers who wore it wrapped round them during the performance, 52.

evizo, the identity of this word is obscure. Máximo employs it only once, and then as the name of a tree; it is manifestly written incorrectly, there being neither *z* nor any *s* sound in the Tahitian dialect, 28.

extracto (*Sp.*), an appendix, supplement, or résumé, 8.

falua (*Sp.* from *Arab.*), a lateen-rigged open or half-decked boat; in this instance the frigate's galley, 48.

Fr. (*Sp.*), a customary abbreviation of Fray, itself a titular contraction of *fraile*: a friar or member of certain religious orders, *passim*.

geme (*Sp.*), now-a-days written *jeme*. A span defined as the distance between the tips of the thumb and forefinger when extended to the full, *i.e.* about 8 inches, 90.

heiba, heiva, heyba, heyva, a dancing festival, with tom-toms, fifes, and sometimes interludes or farces, 26, 52, 90, 96, 158.

heva, mourning, the chief mourner or his garb. See **parae**.

maeva, an acclamation,—hail! or welcome! 171.

magna (*Sp.* ex *Gr.*), an error or abbreviation for *magnesia*, 157.

mahi, fermented bread-fruit, 135 *n*.

mahoae, now written *maoae*, the wind from E., 59.

maraai, better *mara'ai*, the wind from S.E., 67.

marae, the sacred enclosures where the functions or ceremonial of the natives' religious cult were conducted, the bones of persons of rank were given final sepulture, and sacrifices were offered. See *Supplementary Paper* no. XVII for fuller particulars, 30–1, 34, 44–5, 58, 66, 93, 98, 100, 103, 109, 117, 119, 136–7, 141, 148, 155, 159, 170–1, 175–6, 180, 186, 196, 198, 205.

maro, the girdle worn by Polynesian natives in the manner of a T-bandage, covering the perineum, etc., and passing

round the waist. The same term, correctly translated in certain places by "breech-clout," is nevertheless also employed to denote the sacred cincture of scarlet feathers formerly worn only by the highest Chiefs as an emblem of sovereignty on State occasions in the *marae*, 33, 43.

mazamorra (*Sp. coll.*), a sort of polenta or porridge made by boiling maize meal in water, or milk, sometimes with broken biscuit or bread-crumbs, and adding honey or sugar; it is much eaten among the poorer classes in Lima, 152.

ñame (*Sp.*), the yam, *Dioscorea* sp. var.; but the word is sometimes found improperly applied to *taro* (*Colocasia antiquorum*, Schott) and even to *ape* (*Alocasia macrorhiza*, Schott) and other roots. *Ñame*, like "yam," is believed to be a term of West African derivation, 19.

opio, a preparation of bread-fruit, which forms part of the natives' dietary, 135.

opure, for *pure*, prayer, worship, 34, 136, 148, 176, 196, 204.

padrazo (*Sp.*), written throughout the MS. for *padrastro*, of which it is a corruption, a step-father, 13 *note*.

Padre (*Sp.*), Father, as a clerical title or appellation, *passim*.

paepae, a platform; in this instance a kind of forecastle built on to war canoes, 11.

pahi; or *pahi'i*?—the larger class of Tahitian and Ra'i-atean sea-going canoe, used for long voyages and in inter-island wars, 11, 125, 188, 198.

palometa (*Sp. Amer.*), an American sea fish of doubtful identity; Ciro Bayo (Bibl. no. 14) quoting from D'Orbigny, calls it *Serrasalmus marginatus*, a voracious South American freshwater fish of the carp family, also known as the *caribe* or man-eater, whose habits and dentition remind one of the barracuda; this last was probably the fish to which Máximo referred, a congener of it being common in Tahitian seas, 128.

parae, probably for *paa rae*. This term was used not only by Máximo Rodríguez, but by Bligh, W. Ellis and others, for the singular ceremonial dress and mask worn by a chief mourner on certain occasions. It appears, however, that *parae* is a misspelling of *paa rae*, which would apply only, or primarily, to the mask. For details see Ellis's description of this garb at pp. 230–2 *ante*, and the representation of it at Pl. VII, from Webber's drawing, 93–4, 190, 205.

paraparau, a long speech or debate, general chat or conversation, derived by reduplication from the root word *parau*, speech, 43.

piragua (*Ant.*), a canoe. Authorities are not in agreement as to the distinction between a *piragua* and a *canoa*—both Carib or Antillian words—but, on the whole, the former seems to point to a twin-hulled or large outrigger canoe among the islands, and the latter rather to any small "dug-out"; in southern Chile the *piragua* had no outrigger nevertheless, 125, 188, 198.

pita (*Qch.*), the fibre of the Mexican agave (*A. americana*, Linn.), or twine and small cordage made of it, 7.

popoy, for *popoi*, a preparation of taro or fei (*Musa Fehi*, Bert.), cooked, and mashed with a *penu*, 135 *n*, 151.

puchero (*Sp.*), an *olla podrida* or stew of meat, fowl, and various vegetables, popular among Spaniards, 157, 176.

puparao, of no certain meaning, but apparently a clerical error for *purau*, 29.

purae, a clerical error for *purau* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*, Linn.), 30.

quadra (*Sp.*), now written *cuadra*. A somewhat variable measure of length, based on the side of the square blocks of buildings in vogue in South American cities. At Lima it was 150 *varas* (*q.v.*) or, roughly, the same number of paces, equivalent to 139 English yards. *Cf.* volume II, p. 128 *n*; 34.

quarta (*Sp.*), see **cuarta**.

quincha (*Qch.*), any rough wall or fence of canes or bamboos, usually bedaubed with clay. Máximo uses this term loosely for a fence of this kind (though the clay was lacking) and the pen or yard it enclosed, 95, 98, 102, 114, 116.

quinua, or *quinoa* (*Qch.*),—*Chenopodium quinoa*, Willd., a popular food plant of annual growth much cultivated on the higher table-lands of the Andes, of which it is supposed to be native. Its seeds resemble rice grains in quality and appearance, though smaller in size and lenticular in form. When boiled they afford a pleasant, but somewhat insipid and not very nutritious, diet. European spinach belongs to the same botanical Order, 153.

rumi, or *taurumirumi*,—massage, in the application of which Polynesians are expert, 61 *n*.

sapallo, 197, see **zapallo**.

sargazo (*Port.* sargaço, from *sarga*, a berry). This term is used by Máximo in reference to masses of floating sea-wrack seen off the Chilean coast; but it applies specifically only to the gulf-weed met with in the North Atlantic. Locally called *cochayuyo* (*Qch. cocha*, sea or lake, and *yuyo*, grass or herbage). *Cf.* vol. II, p. 184 *n*; 210.

sombrero (*Sp.*), the common generic word for a hat or head-covering of any kind. Máximo uses it to denote the peak or eye-shade made of coconut leaflets braided together which is frequently worn over the brow by Tahitians, 135.

tahua, more exactly *tahu'a*, the sacerdotal functionaries or seers who officiated in the *marae* and in the religious family life of the Tahitians, before Christianity was generally adopted in the island (in 1815). This word has a much wider meaning, but Máximo uses it only in the sense above expressed: the Hawaiian form of it is *kahuna*, and the Maori is *tohunga*, 17, 28–9, 33–4, 45, 54, 57, 60, 62, 119, 136–7, 148, 151, 180–1, 186, 193, 201, 204.

tamal (*Sp. Amer.*), a word, said to be of Mexican origin, applied to a sort of pasty or toad-in-the-hole, done up in leaves, which is much used in America. See vol. II, 280, *note* 2, and herein 80, *note* 1.

tamanu, otherwise *ati*, a very handsome and solid tree, *Calophyllum Inophyllum*, Linn., which used to be planted near the *marae* and other sites, 173 *note* 2.

tapia (*Sp.*), clay walls, or the separate blocks of puddled and moulded clay used for building such walls, 122.

taro, the aroid *Colocasia antiquorum* (Schott), whose corms afford a valuable food staple to the natives of Pacific islands where the soil, elevation, and rainfall are suitable for its cultivation, 19, 63 *n*.

taurua, a festival or fair, with dancing, interludes, music, and sports; now more usually spoken of as a *taupiti*, but no longer held in its old form and style, 43, 151.

taurua mahona (*maona*), wrestling matches, 161.

terrain (*Fr.*), in Spanish *terreño*, land, countryside, 19, 127.

tertulia (*Sp.*), a gathering of friends and acquaintances for social recreation, chat, music, dancing and so forth on a moderate scale, 43.

Tocuyo (*Qch.*), country long-cloth, a cotton fabric woven in Cochabamba in Peru, but originally, says Bayo, at Toco in Venezuela; hence the word is derived from Toco, and *cuyo* to twist threads by hand, by which last two syllables

alone the material seems to have been called in early times, 150.

toerau, toherao, toherau, wind from the north-west, 56, 58, 62, 134.

tohoa, a spelling employed by Máximo for *toa*, a warrior or brave, and which he says "corresponds to captain"; he uses it, however, more in the sense of a steward, bailiff, overseer, or minor deputy, 37, 64, 97, 122, 131, 143, 179.

Totuyo, 150; see **Tocuyo**.

tupapau (now *tiapapau*), a corpse, apparition, ghost; according to Máximo, the Devil, or Evil One, 8, 14, 49, 138.

vara (*Sp.*), a Spanish measure of length equal to ·835905 of a metre or 2·78 English feet. See vol. II, p. xliii; and herein 11, 19, 26, 53, 59, 62, 90, 93, 96, 102–3, 113, 169, 173.

zapallo (*Qch.*), the local name for one or more species of *Cucurbita* grown in South America, especially in Chile, where they are much cultivated and constitute common articles of food. Claudio Gay [Bibl. no. 44, II, 403] concluded that the kinds in most general use are represented by *C. maxima* (Duchesne). Other writers have identified them with *C. pepo*, and *C. melopepo*; but opinions seem rather nebulous. Roughly speaking the *zapallos* may be called in English edible red gourds, pumpkins, or squashes, 197.

DESCRIPTIVE INDEX

OF PERSONAL AND PLACE-NAMES QUOTED IN THE DIARY OF MÁXIMO RODRÍGUEZ.

☞ *To facilitate reference, the key words in this Index are spelt as they occur in the text of the Diary, whether correctly or not. In the descriptive paragraphs the aim has been to conform to the modern orthographic method founded on etymological principles.*

Afaaiti, Afaiti, Afayiti, Afayti, ¯aayti. Afa'a-hiti, a small district wedged between Hitia'a and Pueu and adjoining the isthmus of Taravao at its north-eastern part. One Tahiari was its Chief in Máximo's time, 49 *n*, 54, 102, 104, 107, 113, 118, 124, 127, 132–3, 140, 142, 144, 158, 164, 174, 199

Ahui, Ahuy. Ahui, a small district adjoining the gorge of Ata'a-roa, on its western side, and extending to the confines of Pucu, 93, 98, 121, 157–8, 184, 204

Ahui. A place in Vai-aotea. Perhaps the locality once known as Hui, 137

Amat (Don Manuel de). The Viceroy of Peru from 1761 to 1776; for particulars of his character and career see vols. I and II, and Bibl. no. 32. *Passim*

Amat, *la Isla de.* The name bestowed by D. Domingo Boenechea on Tahiti, 3, 119, 134

Amich, José, *el Padre Fray.* A cleric of the Franciscan Order, attached to the missionary College of Santa Rosa at Santa María de Ocopa, in the Vale of Jauja in Peru. By birth a Catalan, he served for many years in the Navy as a *piloto* or Master; but afterwards joined the Church. He wrote a narrative of the *Aguila's* voyage of 1772–3, in which he took part not as a navigator but as a missionary priest (vol. II, pp. 65–89). He was also the author of a graphic account of the labours and sufferings endured by missionaries of his Order among the remote tribes in the Andes; which was eventually printed, at Paris, in 1854 [Bibl. no. 3], 3

Amo, *see* **Oamo**

Anuhi. The district now known as Pueu, situated on the north coast of the lesser peninsula of Tahiti, between Ahui and Afa'a-hiti; the Spaniards named the harbour within the Pueu reef "Puerto de la Virgen," 7, 120, 122, 142

Apayano. Hapai'i-ano or Haapai-ano, a district on the north side of Tahiti, the next eastwards from Matavai. It corresponded to a part of what is now called Papeno'o, west of Tiarei, 166–7

Apuà. A place, or plot of ground, where Pautu's family lived near Vaionifa, some two miles or more south-eastward of Tautira; the accent on the à, in the MS., is suggestive that the name was really Apuaa or Apua'a, 10

Araheno, *see* **Araheru**

Araheru, Arahero, Araheno. A small tract adjoining Tautira on

the S.E. side, opposite to an opening in the sea reef; which, however, is not navigable except for boats and canoes in fine weather, 94, 156, 156 *n*

Ari'i Paea. An arch-ecclesiastic or *tahu'a rahi*; half-brother to Tu and Hinoi, 171 *n*

Aroma-i-te-ra'i. Purahi's (Moeatua) father. Her father's father was also of this name. See the genealogical table in vol. II, p. xxxviii; 154 *n*

Ataroa. Ata'a-roa was the name of the gorge and valley of the Vai-te-piha stream, which flows from the skirts of Roniu in the interior of the lesser peninsula and debouches at Tautira. See the Plate in vol. II, p. 124; 22, 64, 97, 104, 130, 206

Atehuru. The old name of a large and politically important province on the western side of Tahiti Nui. It comprised the area now represented by the districts of Punaauia and Paea, and bordered on Papara to the southward. The *ari'i* of Atehuru in Máximo's time was Pohuetea, familiarly quoted both by Spanish and British writers of the period as Potatau, *q.v.*, 142, 155, 159 *n*, 170–2, 178, 190, 193, 203

Atimaono. A tract of land in the province of Papara, near the western border of Mataiea, 160–1, 174

Atinua. A locality at the eastern extremity of the lesser peninsula, about one league southward from Tautira; the parents of Manuel Tetuanui lived there, 46, 68, 175

Ayaotea, Ayautea, Guayautea, Oayautea, Oyatea, Oyautea. All these forms, written by Máximo, appear to mean Vai-ao-tea, a sub-district of yore in the extreme south corner of the lesser peninsula, within a tract then known as Hui and now included in Teahupoo, 15, 36–7, 40–1, 51–2, 64, 70, 85, 90, 136–7, 151, 187, 197

Bayere, Fayere. A name quoted by Máximo as being that of Tu's, and also Hinoi's, mother. But Tu's real mother was Te Vahine Tetupaia-i-Hauiri of Ra'i-atea, and Hinoi's was Tetua Umeritini Vairao (or Vairaao). In another place Máximo names the mother of "the *ari'i* Otù" Marorari; the accuracy of his Diary on this point therefore remains in doubt, 15 *n*, 21, 31, 39

Boenechea (also **Bonechea**), Don Domingo. The captain of the frigate *Águila*, and commander of the first and second expeditions despatched to Tahiti in that vessel; his death took place suddenly, from natural causes, at the island on January 26, 1775. For an outline of Boenechea's career see vol. I, pp. liv–lvi, and for his death a interment vol. II, 167, 170 308–9, vol. III, 47–8; 3, 4 *n*

——, **Francisco.** The baptismal names conferred at Lima upon Heiao, one of the natives taken thither in the *Águila* in 1772, 15

Bonacorsi, Don Raymundo. An *alférez*, or ensign, of Marines on board the *Águila* in 1772–3 and 1774–5. His journal of the first voyage is printed in vol. II, 29–63; there is a short notice of him in vol. I, at p. lviii; 3, 4 *n*, 27, 40

Buda. Buda-Pesth, the capital city of Hungary, whence the resin of *Pinus Pumilio* (Haenke) is exported, 153

Eatua, *see* **Oteatua**

Efareura. Fare ura, literally "hall of crimson feathers," was a notable spot in Pare-Arue, 169

El Callao. The fortress and port of Lima, from which it is about seven miles distant. See the bird's eye sketch in vol. II, at p. 90; 3, 210

Ervé, *see* **Hervé**

Faayti, *see* **Afaaiti**

Fayere, *see* **Bayere**

Gallangos, Don Thomas, *see* **Gayangos**

Gayangos, Don Thomas. First

lieutenant of the *Águila* in the expeditions of 1772–3–4, and acting captain after Boenechea's death in January 1775. For a short notice of his career see vol. I, p. lvi; 3, 19, 21–2, 35–6, 38–9, 47–8

Geronimo, *Padre*. The *Padre Fr.* Gerónimo Clot or Clota, one of the two missionary clerics allotted from the Franciscan College of Santa Rosa at Santa María de Ocopa, in the Vale of Jauja (Peru), to christianise the Tahitians, in 1774. *Padre* Gerónimo was a Catalan by birth, though he appears to have been totally lacking in the energy and temperament Catalans so generally display. For some account of the College at Ocopa see vol. II, pp. 92–3, *note* 3; 20, 58, 60–2, 65, 67–8, 71, 80, 82–3, 91–3, 95–6, 99, 102, 105–7, 114 *n*, 115, 117, 128, 143, 157–8, 160 *n*, 175, 178, 180, 184

Guarahoho. Properly Arahoho, a place at the junction of Papeno'o and Tiarei districts, at or near the mouth of the Fa'aruma'i valley, 166

Guatupua. A name ascribed by Máximo, and also by the *Padres* (II, 331) with slight variation, to Vehiatua's little brother. There is no clear evidence in any of the documents to confirm this, however. The boy was properly known as Tetua-ounuinaona, and Máximo avows this as an alternative, 157 and *n*, 187

Guayari, Oyari. Máximo's way of spelling Vaiari, now-a-days Papeari, a district situated at the south part of Tahiti Nui in contiguity to the isthmus of Taravao, on the latter's western side. Vaiari was formerly the residence of the Chief paramount of the Teva clan and, indeed, of the whole population, for he was known as *Te ari'i rahi no Tahiti*; and the most sacred *marae* in all Tahiti was that of Fare-ura, in Vaiari. The gradual ascendancy of Papara, and next of the Pare Chiefs of whom Tu was a scion, has caused Vaiari to fall not into oblivion but into minor significance, and has shorn the locality of its ancient glory, 47, 132–3, 135–6, 155

Guayautea. *See* **Ayaotea**

Guayotaha. Máximo thus spells Vai-o-taha, the designation of Vehiatua's *marae* at Tautira, 66, 119 *n*, 180, 196

Guayotihi. Máximo thus spells Vai-o-tihi, to designate an islet within the barrier reef opposite to Vai-urua; but it appears that the islet in question is really called Fenua-ino, and that Vai-o-tihi is the name of a stream which flows from a ravine a-breast of the islet, 195

Guayuriri. Written for Vai-uriri, now-a-days Papeuriri, a locality or district of small size on the eastern border of Papara and comprised within Mataiea, 114, 125–6, 132–3, 160 and *n*, 161, 174

Guayuru. Máximo thus spells Vai-uru, the old name of the district now called Vairao or Vairaao, situated on the west side of the lesser peninsula, between Toahotu and Mataoae; it must not be confused with Vai-urua, which Máximo wrote Guayurua (*q.v.*), 15, 50, 51–3, 99, 107, 133, 135–6, 141, 158, 190, 199

Guayurua. The district of Vai-urua, at the extreme east end of the lesser peninsula, opposite to a break in the reef through which the *Águila* entered when she first came to an anchor at Tahiti, in 1772. Boenechea named the lagoon there "Puerto de Santa María Magdalena" (*q.v.*), after the dedication of his ship. On English maps it is often met with as "Lángara's Harbour"; this is entirely wrong, because the only harbour Lángara ever anchored in at Tahiti was Vai-te-piha Bay, adjoining Tautira, which the maps designate "Cook's anchorage," although Boenechea stayed there much longer than Captain Cook did. Guayurua should not be confused with Guayuru (*q.v.*), 10, 15, 17, 196, 198

Hervé, Don Juan; also **Ervé**. The *primer piloto* or "Master" of the *Águila*. He enjoyed naval rank as an *alférez* or ensign. The *pilotos* were the officers responsible for navigating the ship; and it was Hervé who did most of the hydrographic surveying undertaken during the first and second voyages of this frigate to Tahiti. He, too, constructed the charts that were afterwards submitted to the Viceroy and the naval authorities, 21

Hinoy. One of Tu's two half-brothers, being a son of the same father Hapai'i (later called Teu, and by Máximo Tihino) by a lady named Tetua Umeritini Vairao. Hinoi was several years younger than Tu; his full title was Teri'i Hinoi-Atua, which was repeated in the person of Tu's lineal descendant, the son of Ari'i Aue (Pomare V), who died on May 28, 1916; 6, 6 *n*, 16, 20, 27, 37, 39, 40, 61, 63, 166, 203

Hitia'a, *see* **Ohitià**

Irimiro. A locality or small district in the extreme south-eastern part of the lesser peninsula. It is now absorbed in Hui, or Teahupoo, 139, 140, 143, 147, 192

Itari. One of Vehiatua's bailiffs or stewards, 37

Lángara, Don Cayetano de. The Lieutenant-Commander of the *Águila* during her third voyage from El Callao to Tahiti and back. He seems to have been a brother, probably a younger brother, of Don Juan de Lángara y Huarte, the distinguished admiral who fought so gallantly, though unsuccessfully, against Rodney's squadron off Cape Santa María, in 1780. A brief notice of Don Cayetano's career is given in vol. I, p. lix; see also vol. II, p. 357 *n*, and several passages in the INTRODUCTION (vol. I) in connection with misunderstandings which have arisen in various quarters with reference to the identity of this officer, 207

La Santísima Cruz, Bay of. Name conferred by Capt. Boenechea, in 1774, on the bay adjoining Tautira in which the Vai-te-piha stream reaches the sea. Capt. Cook terms it "Oaitipiha Bay," Forster "Aitepéha harbour," and Edgar "Oaitipeha," 5

La Virgen. *See* **Puerto de**

Lima. The capital city of Peru, where the Viceroy resided. It seems to have been the birthplace of Máximo Rodríguez, 4 *n*, 17, 23, 95, 109, 117, 139, 144, 152, 170, 196, 199, 210

Machao, Don Diego. A brevet ensign serving in the *Águila* during her first and second voyages to Tahiti. Máximo spells the name as usually pronounced, but it is properly written Machado, 3, 11, 36, 38

Mahine. *See* **Ohitihiti**

Maititi. *See* **Tetuanui, Manuel**

Maitù. Properly spelt Mehetu: the small, high island situated 60 miles due E. from Tautira. A good deal of confusion existed in the minds of the Spaniards between this and Ma'atea, which lies 2° farther North in almost the same longitude. Mehetu, once known as Tuhua but now as Mehetia, is the Osnaburgh Island of Wallis, and Pic de la Boudeuse of Bougainville. Boenechea named it "Cerro de San Cristóbal," from its resemblance to a hill of that name near Lima; but Máximo calls it "San Sereno." It is formed by a volcano, long inactive, and is 1427 ft in height. Its longitude is 148° 5′ W., *cf.* **Matea**, 198

Makatea. *See* **Matea**

Manea. A renowned arch-*tahu'a*, brother of Te-Vahitua-i-Patea (Amo). He was called in to advise about Vehiatua's illness and affairs, 119 and *n*

Manterola, Don Juan de. A lieutenant of Infantry, *i.e.* Marines, serving in the *Águila* in 1774-5, 17

Manuel. The baptismal name bestowed upon Tetuanui, otherwise Maititi, while he was at Lima in 1773–4, whither he had been conveyed in the *Águila*. *See* **Tetuanui, Manuel**

Marorari. A name attributed by Máximo to Tu's mother, whom he elsewhere calls Bayere and Fayere (*q.v.*). Forster mentions a very fair-skinned lady of rank named Maroraï, one of the daughters of O-Taï, at Vai-tepiha; but nothing farther is learned about her identity, and Cook does not name her at all. The *title* of Tu's mother was Tetupaia-i-Hauiri, and she was a fair-skinned lady of the highest rank, from Ra'i-atea, 15

Matabay, Matabae. Really Matavai, the tongue of low, flat, wooded land, a mile long, which juts to seaward from the district of Mahina, on the north side of Tahiti Nui, and terminates at the spot named by Capt. Cook "Point Venus," where a pleasant rivulet of clear fresh water enters the sea. The bay on its western side, imperfectly protected by a sunken barrier reef, affords anchorage except during N.W. winds and was used by Wallis, Cook, Furneaux, Bligh, Vancouver, Wilson and others. The district was ruled over by a local Chief under the suzerainty of Tu. At p. 192 Máximo refers to Matavai Bay as "Puerto del Inglés," 7, 7 *n*, 67, 156, 167–8, 192

Mataiva. *See* **Matayba**

Mataoae. A pleasant and fertile district on the western side of the lesser peninsula, between Vairaao (to the N.) and Teahupoo (to the S.), 15, 50–1, 90, 96, 136–7, 155, 188

Matayba, also **Mataiva.** The atoll called Matahiva, in lat. 14° 54′ S., long. 148° 40′ W., the leewardmost of the islands of the Tuamotu or Low Archipelago. It consists of a circular reef about four miles in diameter, covered with soil and well wooded, through which a single passage on the west side leads into the lagoon, 134, 158, 208

Matea. A bay a short distance eastwards from Vaiaotea (*q.v.*), according to Máximo, but not otherwise identified, 91

Matea. The island, called Ma'atea by the Tahitians, but Makatea by its own natives and those of the Tuamotu, situated N. 35°, distant 123 miles from Matavai; in lat. 15° 48′ S., long. 148° 13′ W. It was more or less under the suzerainty of Tu, who utilised it as a place of banishment for malefactors. It is the only island pertaining to the Tuamotu which is notably elevated, reaching, as it does, a height of 230 ft. It is encircled by a shore-reef but has no barrier. Unless it was seen by Quiros and Torres in 1606, the claim for its discovery falls to Roggeveen, who landed a boat's crew there in 1722 and called it the "Eyland van Verwikking"; but it was afterwards re-named Aurora. M. de Bougainville's narrative, albeit very vague, makes it appear that an island he sighted on April 16, 1768, was stated by the Tahitian on board his ship to be called "Oumaitia" (= o Mehetia) but there appears to have been a misapprehension; Turnbull certainly visited Makatea, however, in 1803, and has left a good account of his observations there [Bibl. no. 138, pp. 262–4]. This island contains a rich deposit of phosphate of lime, which is being worked by an Anglo-French company, 102 *n*, 118 *n*, 134, 134 *n*

Matea. This name is applied by Máximo, under a misapprehension, to Mehetia; *see* **Maitù,** 102, 118, 134 *n*, 198

Maurua. An island of igneous rock situated in lat. 16° 27′ S., long. 152° 12′ W., within a picturesque barrier-reef wooded in parts, with an opening navigable for small craft in fine weather, but intricate and dangerous. The island consists mainly, as its

name implies, of two hills; the higher one reaches an altitude of 800 feet. Maurua (or Maupiti, as it is now usually called) is only six miles in circuit. It carries a population of less than 200, though there have been half as many more in the past. There is a dolerite quarry at Maurua from which fillets used to be formed into adze blades, and into pestles for pounding *popoi*; it was thence that the material of the stone bowl of *marae* Taputapuatea was procured, xxxiv, 156

Morea. Properly Mo'orea or Mo'orea, a mountainous and singularly beautiful island situated next to Tahiti, whence it bears W.N.W., distant 9 miles from land to land (nearest points). It is 48 kilometres in circumference and covers an area equal to 13,237 hectares (about 51 square miles). Of this, fully 3500 hectares are capable of cultivation. Mo'orea was visited by Capt. Cook in October, 1777. Boenechea named it "La isla de Santo Domingo"; but did not gain an anchorage or effect a landing. The people of Mo'orea were accounted by the Tahitians formidable warriors, and had frequent collisions with them of old; although instances of important intermarriage between their respective Chiefs' families were not wanting. Its principal peak, called Tohivea, is very nearly 4000 feet high: another, adjoining it, reaches 3005 ft, and several others exceed 2300 ft; 43–4, 72, 116, 133–4, 144, 155, 189, 195

Narciso, *Padre. Fray* Narciso González, a member of the Franciscan Order attached to the missionary College of Santa Rosa at Santa María de Ocopa, in Peru, was one of the two friars selected to attempt the Christianisation of the natives at Tahiti, in 1774. He was a native of Estremadura in Old Spain; and seems to have been quite unfitted, physically and mentally, for the task set him, 19, 64, 66–7, 73, 78–9, 95–101, 104–5, 107, 113–14 and *n*, 119–20, 122, 124, 130–2, 143, 145–7, 149, 152–3, 155, 157, 160 and *n*, 162–3, 164 *n*, 177–8, 180, 189, 194–5

Nonohea. Onoheha, a valley and stream in the district of Tiarei, formerly called Te Mehiti. It is about a mile and a half eastward of the elbow Máximo calls Guarahoho, (Arahuhu) which adjoins the Faarumai ,embouchure, and was the boundary between Te Mehiti and Haururu (now Papenoo), 166

Oahotu. Toahotu, a tract between Afaahiti, Taravao, and Port Phaëton on the north-west, and Vairao to its south-eastward; being the first district one enters on the western side of the lesser peninsula of Tahiti, 133

Oamo. O Amo, *ari'i* of Papara and overlord of the Teva-i-uta clan. His dynastic title was Tevahitua-i-Patea; the word *amo* meaning to twinkle or blink was adopted by him from a habit of blinking his infant son Teri'i Rere developed. Amo was the husband of the celebrated lady Purea, otherwise Te Vahine Airoro-Atua-i-Ahura'i styled by Capt. Wallis the "queen" of Tahiti, 112 and *n*, 113 *n*, 121 *n*, 154 *n*

Oayautea. *See* **Ayaotea** (Vaiaotea)

Obaytaha. Máximo thus spells Vaitahu, or Vaitaho, the name of a village, stream, and bay in the island of Tahuata (Santa Cristina) in the southern part of the Marquesa's Group. First visited by Mendaña, in 1595, the bay was named by him "Puerto de la Madre de Dios." Captain Cook, in 1774, called it after his own ship, H.M.S. *Resolution*. The Tahitians apply the name Vaitahu loosely to the whole Marquesa's Group, 92

Ocopa. The site of a missionary settlement in the vale of the Jauja, more than 100 miles to

the north of Lima, not very far from the sources of the Amazons River. The College of Santa Rosa was founded there in 1724, by D. Francisco de San Josef, a Franciscan of Burgos. Both the missionary *Padres* whom Máximo accompanied belonged to this institution. Further details of its history are given in a footnote in vol. II, pp. 92–3. The college no longer exists, 160 *n*

Ohaena. Máximo thus quotes Mahaena, the district wedged between Hitiaa on the south and Tiarei to the northward, 160 *n*

Ohatutira, also Ofatutira. These names prevailed formerly for Tautira, as it is now called. It comprises a whole district on the north side of the lesser peninsula; but is generally quoted with particular reference to the low, flat, well-wooded tongue of land which juts out from the eastern side of the Vaite-piha stream and helps to form the bay of that name, where the Spanish ships moored in 1774–5, and H.M. ships *Resolution* and *Adventure* lay for a few days in 1773. Cook returned to it with the *Resolution* and *Discovery*, in August, 1777. *Cf.* vol. II, pp. 119–20 and chart. O Hatutira was for some generations the principal residence of the Vehiatua dynasty; and it was there that the Spanish Mission was established in 1775, and Máximo usually dwelt. It is now a fairly flourishing village, though it suffered serious damage by submersion during the tidal wave in 1906. The late Robert Louis Stevenson spent three months at Tautira in 1888, and there formed his first associations with South Sea island life, 5, 7, 10, 18, 19, 34, 41, 46, 50, 53–4, 88–91, 98, 104, 109, 113, 121, 125–6, 128, 131–3, 135, 137–41, 148–9, 157, 164, 167, 175, 192, 197, 199, 202–3

Oheyao, *i.e.* O Heiao or Heiau. A Tahitian youth aged from 16 to 20 years who, with three others, was conveyed to Lima in the *Águila*, in 1772–3; and died there. He was baptized "Francisco Boenechea." There is mention of him in vol. I, pp. xxxi, 342, 352–3, and in vol. II, p. 63. Máximo once names him Toheyao, perhaps by a clerical error, 4, 4 *n*, 15, 15 *n*

Ohitià. The district on the east coast of Tahiti Nui called Hitiaa or Hitia'a. It was within the reef opposite to Hitiaa that M. de Bougainville's ships lay, and lost six anchors and kedges, in 1768. The principal *ari'i* of Hitiaa in Bougainville's, Cook's, and the Spaniards' time was Reti, who figures in all their narratives. *See also* **San Nicolás,** 8, 136, 164, 174, 176, 178, 180, 188–9, 194–5, 200

Ohitihiti. O Hitihiti, also named Mahine, was a native of Porapora who embarked in H.M.S. *Resolution* at Ra'i-atea in September, 1773, accompanied Capt. Cook to Tonga, New Zealand, Easter Island, and Vaitahu (Tahuata), and returned safely to Tahiti in the same ship in April, 1774, after reaching the Antarctic Circle. Hitihiti's portrait, drawn by Hodges, hangs in the Royal Naval Museum at Greenwich; an engraving of it occurs as Pl. XXXV in Cook's published Journal [Bibl. no. 29], 92

Opare. O Pare was the home district of Tu. It is situated on the north or N.N.W. side of Tahiti Nui, and extends between Arue (with which it is now joined, for administrative purposes) and Faaa. Papeete, the seat of the French Government and chief centre of commerce in the island, is in Pare district, 24, 27, 44, 70, 167–9, 172, 200, 203

Opetí (O Peti). A person described by Máximo as one of Tu's uncles, 47

Opicha, or Opixa. The name, as quoted by natives to Máximo and written down by him, of an officer or seaman of Capt. Cook's pinnace's crew. This may mean

simply "Officer"; but it seems more probable that Lieut. Pickersgill was the person so designated; and that some confusion arose between the *Endeavour* and the *Resolution*, in both of which ships Pickersgill served. *See* foot-note on the pages quoted, viz., 91–2 and *n*

Opò, also **Opo**. A familiar abbreviation of "O Purahi," otherwise Te Vahine Moe-atua, the mother of Vehiatua and his brother, the widow of old Vehiatua (Taitoa) and spouse of Ti'i-torea. She was a niece of Tevahitoa-i-Patea (Amo), the *ari'i* of Papara. Purahi was a woman of intelligence and strong character, but displayed a gentle disposition and fine sentiments. She rendered notable service to the *Padres* on several occasions; and was almost a mother to the youth Máximo, who in turn rendered her every respect. She acted as Regent in Taiarapu during the minority of her sons. Máximo usually referred to her in his Diary as "the mother of Vehiatua," 5, 30, 41, 71, 154 *n*, 192

Opono. "Pono" was the metonym by which the Tahitians called H.M.S. *Adventure*, being their way of pronouncing Furneaux, her captain's name, 7, 168

Opuni. O Puni was a notable Chief and warrior, the principal *ari'i* of Porapora, Maurua, Tupai, and probably Mopihaa. Tapuaemanu also rendered him tribute. He conquered Tahaa, and subdued a considerable portion of Ra'i-atea; but ultimately yielded to circumstances and withdrew from the last-named island to Porapora. His power and renown were fully recognised by the Chiefs of Huahine, and Tahiti itself, 98

Opunuà. Described as the name of a *marae*, once at Vaiurua and again at Tautira, 15, 205

Orae. Perhaps meant for "O Rahi," used as short for *O tahu'a rahi*, the arch-priest, 201

Orayatea, Orayetea, and also **Oralatea**. Ra'i-atea, the principal island of the leeward section of the Society Group, as the term is now applied. Its centre is in lat. 16° 50′ S., long. 151° 25′ W. just 2° West of the centre of Tahiti. It is considered to possess a specially ancient and sacred character. Boenechea named it "La Princesa"; but Máximo calls it *la Ysla del Parayso*, 40–3, 46, 54, 92, 98, 109, 119, 136, 165, 188–9

Oreti. O Reti, the principal *ari'i* of Hitiaa province, *q.v.*; a man well known and liked by Bougainville, Cook, and the Spaniards. Lieut. Gayangos, with whom Reti exchanged names, describes him (in 1774) as about forty-five years of age, of good presence, full of humour, active in body, and intelligent, 8, 9, 10, 136, 164–5

Oro, one of the highest Tahitian and Ra'i-atean divinities, to whom sacrifices were offered at times of crisis. He is generally called the god of war, but this phrase describes Oro very inadequately. *Cf.* Ellis [Bibl. no. 36], Moerenhout [Bibl. no. 73], and de Bovis [Bibl. no. 127]; 170

Oroytimoheahea (Oro-iti-maheahea). A name conferred on Máximo Rodríguez by members of Vehiatua's household, to commemorate their affectionate feeling towards him. It is derived from an ancestor of theirs called Oro-iti (Oro the lesser), who was a *tahu'a*, or priest. Maheahea means pallid; so that Oro-iti-maheahea was "Little Oro the Pale-face." The identification of this name is vouched for by Tati, 183

Otahiti. Máximo thus writes the name of the island; "Tahiti" is correct

Otautiti. O Tautiti, or perhaps Tauhitihiti. "A very comely woman about 25 years old" in 1769 (*teste* Banks, MSS. no. 28 *bis*; and Hawkesworth, Bibl. no. 51, II, 158). She was Vehiatua's spouse or paramour for a short time, before his father's death;

but, being first cousins, the marriage was not approved by Purahi and fell through. She owned some pearls, 110, 130

Oteatua, also **Eatua, Teatua** (O te Atua). The Deity, especially the supreme Godhead; but also applicable in a more general sense, though somewhat lacking in definition, 15, 29, 44, 50, 54, 57–8, 60–1, 66, 73, 103, 108, 125, 137, 141, 147–8, 151, 170–2, 175–8, 180, 195, 205

Oteihiotu. The name of a boy aged ten or twelve years, a younger son of the deceased Pahiriro, *ari'i* of Anuhi (Pueu). He must have been a brother of Maraeta'ata, 142

Otepua (O Tepua, O te pua). A patch of exposed, rough water, near Mahaiatea on the coast of Papara, towards Papeuriri; it is still known by the same name, and a small tract of land on the adjoining coast is called "Paniora," *i.e.* Española (Spain) with reference, as Tati supposes, to Máximo's visit there, 173

Otiarei. O Tiarei, a district in Te Aharoa, on the north-east side of Tahiti Nui between Haururu and Ahuare, which are now known as Papenoo and Mahaena respectively. It corresponds to Mehiti and Te-ne of olden time, 72, 166

Otihino. A name quoted by Máximo as belonging to Tu's father who, at that time, was generally known as Ha'apai, or Hapai'i, but later on as Teu, and lived until 1802. If the *n* in Tihino is miscopied from *u*, the name may stand for Teu, 15

Otitoi. The true spelling is doubtful. Perhaps Tetohi. This was an aged councillor or baron of the Vehiatuas' Court, 189

Otù, also **Otu** (O Tu). Máximo usually wrote "el Eri Otù," *i.e.* the *ari'i o* Tu, commonly differentiated from his forbears and successors as Tu Vairatoa. He was the Paramount Chief, *primus inter pares* of the several ruling powers, in Tahiti, Ma'atea, and Teturoa. The latter atoll was his family demesne and had no local or permanent dwellers. His home district was Pare. He was the eldest of three recognised sons of Teu by different mothers, his own being Tetupaia-i-Hauiri of Ra'i-atea, a lady of high rank in that island. His half-brothers were Teri'i Hinoi-Atua and Ari'i-Paea; but only the former of these is mentioned by Máximo. Tu was elevated from the position of a mere but highly important district Chief, to the sovereign power, partly through his father's marriage with a lady of superior rank, and partly through his own marriage to a still more pronounced aristocrat; but finally by virtue of the ascendancy he acquired through the presents and influence which came to him in consequence of Matavai Bay becoming the principal haven for European (British) ships, especially those of Capt. Cook. On the birth of his son and successor, in or about 1782, who inherited the paternal title, in full O Tu-nui-e-a'a-i-te-Atua (or O Tu-nui-e-ae-i-te-Atua, or, *teste* M. de Bovis, O te Tuu nui eaae i te atua), Tu Vairatoa assumed the name Pomare, and thus founded the dynasty so styled which survived through five reigns until definite annexation of the island to France extinguished the kingship. Tu, *i.e.* Pomare I, was born between 1743 and 1748; he died, suddenly, on September 3, 1803, at Matavai Bay. For farther details of his character and career, see pp. xlii–iv, and in vol. II, pp. xxxv–xl, and also Ari'i Taimai's Memoirs [Bibl. no. 8], 5–7, 10–12, 15–19, 21–4, 26–8, 31–2, 36–9, 41–4, 47, 50, 54–6, 58–9, 61, 63–4, 67–8, 70–2, 89–91, 97, 99, 110–11, 113, 118, 121, 126, 139, 142, 156, 161, 163, 166–70, 181, 187, 191–2, 196–7, 200–3, 210

Otui (O Tui). A minor Chief, warrior, bailiff or captain, as

Máximo styles him, who lived in the gorge of Ata'aroa, 97

Otute (O Tute). The metonym by which the Tahitians quoted H.M. ships *Endeavour* and *Resolution*, being their way of pronouncing "Cook." They also referred to Capt. Cook personally as "Tute." *Tute* happens to be a Tahitian word, meaning to push away, or repel; but it was adopted for "Cook" simply because *c* and *k* do not exist in the native dialect but are rendered by *t*, and every word or name must end in a vowel, 7, 23, 67, 91, 94, 110, 168

Outuru. Máximo thus spells the name of the native whom M. de Bougainville carried from Hitiaa to France in 1768, and calls Aotourou. He was probably O Turu. He died two years later, of smallpox contracted at Mauritius, while on the voyage back towards his native island [*cf.* Bibl. no. 19]; 9, 136

Oviriau. The name of a lady from Atehuru, of Chiefly rank, (perhaps more correctly O Viriahu) who suffered an epileptiform or hysterical attack, a month after the death of Vehiatua, whose first cousin she was said to be. She is described as a very beautiful blonde, with ruddy curling hair and blue eyes, 192–3

Oyari. A wrong spelling of O Vaiari. *See* **Guayari**, 47

Oyatea, Oyautea. *See* **Ayaotea** (for Vai-ao-tea), 88–9

Padres, the missionary. The two, quoted collectively; as to whom separately see **Narciso**, and **Geronimo**, 6, 10, 19, 20, 35, 40, 42–3, 47, 55, 57, 59, 63–4, 68–71, 74–5, 78, 82–6, 91, 95, 97, 101, 104–6, 113, 117, 120, 124, 139, 141, 146, 149–50, 157–9, 162, 175–6, 179, 183, 192, 199, 204, 206, 208

Paera. A native householder in Ahui, 121

Page, Thomas. The founder of a once famous firm of stationers and publishers at Tower Hill, Messrs Mount and Page. They dealt especially in works relating to navigation and astronomy, and were licensed vendors of the first *Nautical Almanac*. They were also printers of *The English Pilot*, 1773. The original Thomas Page died in London in 1733; he may have been succeeded by a son Thomas, 111

Pahairiro, Pahiriro. Máximo spells in both these forms the name of the old *ari'i* of Anuhi, now known as Pueu district. He is stated by Lieut. Gayangos (vol. II, 141) to have been a brother of Vehiatua's father. He died of the epidemic sickness (influenza?) attributed to the Spaniards' presence, and Máximo was a guest at his obsequies on December 21, 1774. He is mentioned by Capt. Cook, and so is one of his sons, Maraeta'ata. The name was probably Pahi-riro, or Pahi-ha'ariro; and means the "canoe astray," 7, 8, 10, 31, 120, 124, 128

Papara. A large, fertile, and important district situated in the S.S.W. part of Tahiti Nui, between Paea and Mataiea, of which the young Teri'i-Rere-i-Tooara'i, only son of Amo and Purea (Wallis's "queen"), was Overlord in Máximo's time. He would probably, if he had been older, and but for the influence of Europeans, have kept his rival Tu under lasting subjection, 30, 112, 114, 116, 118, 120, 135, 159 and *n*, 160 *n*, 172, 174, 187

Papenoo. A large valley and district extending to the centre of Tahiti Nui, between Mahina and Tiarei. Máximo mentions the river of Papenoo but does not quote a name for it, 166 *n*

Parahuoi. One of Vehiatua's "captains" or *toa*, 179

Parayso, Isla del. Máximo twice refers to the island of Ra'i-atea by this name, which does not seem to occur elsewhere. Boenechea called it "la Princesa" (see vol. II, pp. 164, 303), 46, 188

Pautu, Tomás. The elder of the two surviving Tahitians who visited Lima in the *Águila* in 1772–3, and returned to the island with the missionary *Padres* in 1774. Boenechea thought him to be 30 or 32 years of age, Amich says 30; but Bonacorsi puts him down as from 35 to 40. Pautu was baptized while at Lima, but immediately after his return home he seceded from the Mission, reverted to the Faith of his ancestors, and gave the Spaniards a good deal of anxiety and trouble in various ways. Cook mentions him as Paoodoo; and he seems to have been considered not quite *compos mentis*, by European visitors; thus, Capt. Clarke, of H.M.S. *Discovery*, described him as "a low fellow, and a little out of his senses," in which account (says Cook, Bibl. no. 28, II, 78) "his own countrymen agreed," 3–4, 6–8, 10–11, 14–15, 21, 35–40, 43–4, 47, 89, 170, 199

Ponamu. Some portion of New Zealand, seen by Hitihiti (*alias* Mahine) during his voyage with Capt. Cook in H.M.S. *Resolution*, 92

Porapora. An interesting compound atoll long ago known as Vavau, and afterwards as Borabora or Bolabola, situated within a barrier reef (partly covered with low, flat, wooded islets) in lat. 16° 30′ S., long. 151° 44′ W.; about twelve miles West from Tahaa and twenty N.W. from the nearest part of Ra'i-atea. The central mass, though no more than two miles in width and barely five miles long, rises in a remarkable peak to a height of 2379 feet; and offers a very picturesque and striking appearance to the navigator. The *ari'i* of Porapora in Máximo's time was the renowned Puni (*q.v.*), 136 *n*

Potatau, otherwise Pohuetea. The *ari'i* of Atehuru, an important tract on the west side of Tahiti Nui between Faaa and Papara. He is described by G. Forster as "tall, comely and majestic, one of the noblest models of nature" [Bibl. no. 40]. His portrait, drawn from life by Hodges, hangs in the Royal Naval Museum at Greenwich, and was engraved by J. Hall for Capt. Cook's Journal [Bibl. no. 29, Pl. LVI]. Pohuetea seems to have been a genial and benign old fellow; and an equitable, influential, and respected ruler, in accordance with his exalted social and family rank. His wife, in Máximo's time, and Cook's, was Purutifara; but he apparently had relations with her sister, later on, 110, 170–1, 203

Puerto de la Virgen. The Spaniards' name for the lagoon roadstead off Pueu, some three miles west from Vai-te-piha (with which the neighbouring Port *Piha'a* should not be confused), 7, 10, 31, 99–100, 120, 124, 128, 142, 160

Puerto del Inglés. A phrase, rather than a name, applied by Máximo, in one instance, to the Bay of Matavai, where the English ships mostly lay, 192

Puerto de San Nicolás. This is Taravao Bay on the N.E. side of the isthmus of that name; or perhaps Port Vaitoare, which is a mile and a half farther to the northward. Hervé called it the Ensenada (roadstead) de San Nicolás; it is shown at D on Chart no. III in the pocket of vol. I, and marks the southern limit of Hitiaa district, 8

Puerto de Santa María Magdalena. The name bestowed by Boenechea on the lagoon harbour at Vaiurua, on the extreme east coast of the lesser peninsula, where the *Águila* lay during her first visit to Tahiti in 1772. Its latitude is 17° 48′ 36″ S. See the view, Pl. 6, vol. I, p. 302. The place was also sometimes quoted as Puerto del *Águila*, for short; and appears on some maps and charts as "Lángara's Harbour," which is a misnomer, 131, 138, 141, 146, 149, 198

Punaauia (Teypunaguiya of Máximo). A district in Atehuru on the west side of Tahiti Nui, between Faaa and Paea. It was once known as Mano-tahi, and formed a part of Te Oropaa. It was here that the *marae* Taputapuatea existed, in which all human sacrifices were ultimately deposited and offered up to the god Oro. The *ari'i* of Atehuru, Potatau, one of whose titles was Ponuetea, held sway over this district in Capt. Cook's and Máximo's time and was still living in 1792, 159 *n*, 170 and *n*, 171

Puni. *See* **Opuni**

Raymundo, Señor Don. *See* **Bonacorsi**

Rodríguez, Máximo. The author of the Diary. For some account of his origin, character and career, pp. xix–xxii may be consulted, and also his *Memorial*, pp. 214–18; v, vii, xiii–xv, xviii–xl, xlix, 3, 212–214, 218–19

Rosales, Ramón. One of the Master's Mates of the *Águila*, in 1772–6. *See* vol. II

San Nicolás. *See* **Puerto de**. The fundus of the bight on the N.E. side of the isthmus of Taravao, 8

Santa María Magdalena. *See* **Puerto de**; *see* also under **Ships**

Santísima Cruz, Ensenada *or* Puerto de la. *See* Vaitepiha

Seaman, The. An ordinary seaman named Francisco Pérez allotted from the *Águila* by Lieut. Comdr. Gayangos, on January 26, 1775, in satisfaction of a request made by the *Padres* for a servant who should remain ashore at the Mission station, and perform the menial work of the homestead. He turned out badly, 59, 80, 82–3, 85, 99, 104–6, 114, 124, 145–6, 149–50, 157, 190, 204

Ships.

Adventure, H.M.S., Capt. Furneaux, 7 *n*, 156 *n*, *and see* **Opono**

Águila, the colloquial name of the Spanish naval frigate *Santa María Magdalena*, of 22–26 guns, Capt. Domingo de Boenechea, and, successively Lieut. Comdr. Tomás Gayangos, and Lieut. Comdr. Cayetano de Lángara, in which the expeditions to Tahiti were conducted, 3, 94 *n*, 134 *n*, 207: *see also* vol. I, pp. lx–lxii

Endeavour, H.M.S., Lieut. James Cook, R.N. in command. The ship in which the expedition to observe the transit of Venus across the sun's disc was despatched, and stayed three months at Matavai Bay in 1769 |Bibl. no. 30 (Cook's Journal)|; *see also* **Otute**, 78 *n*, 91 *n*

Júpiter. The colloquial name of the *paquebot* or storeship *San Miguel*, owned, navigated, and commanded by Don Josef de Andía y Varela, a native of Santiago de Chile. She was chartered by the Viceroy of Peru to accompany the frigate *Águila* as tender or storeship, and conveyed the *Padres*, cattle, and portable frame-house to Tahiti in 1774; 3, 47. *See also* Andía's Journal, in vol. II

——. A Tahitian canoe, so named after the above mentioned storeship, 109

La Boudeuse. French frigate, Capt. L. A. de Bougainville: navigating commander Duclos-Guyot. This vessel visited Tahiti in April 1768, and anchored off Hitiaa, but remained only nine days. *See* Bibl. no. 19, and MSS. no. 32; 9, 136

L'Étoile. French flute, accompanying the *Boudeuse* as victualler, in 1768. Her commander was M. Chesnard de la Giraudais; 9, 136

Norfolk. A colonial craft of Port Jackson, which was wrecked in a N.W. gale at Matavai Bay, about 1804; 168 *n*

Opono. The natives' metonym for "Furneaux," denoting H.M.S. *Adventure*, 7, 168

Otute. The natives' metonym for "Cook"; denoting H.M.S *Endeavour*, and H.M.S. *Resolution*, 7, 23, 94, 110, 168

Ships (*cont.*)
Resolution,. H.M.S., Capt. James Cook, R.N. The vessel in which that commander made his second (and subsequent) voyage to the Pacific Ocean, twice visiting Tahiti, in 1773–4, in this instance. *See* Bibl. nos. 29, 40, 41, 51, etc.; 7 *n*, 156 *n*, 168 *n*
San Miguel. The storeship *Júpiter*, *q.v.*
Santa María Magdalena. The frigate *Águila*, *q.v.*

Tabiari, Taviari. At p. 54 the Chief of Faayti (Afa'ahiti) is thus named, but at p. 102 he is called Taví, perhaps for short. At p. 107 the name is applied to a place in the isthmus of Taravao where the same Chief was staying

Tahuareva. A hill adjoining Tautira, whence a fine view of the bay of Vaitepiha and the Tautira flat can be obtained. It appears to be identical with Moua Raha, 194

Taitoa, *also* **Taytoa** *in places*. Two persons of this name are mentioned in the Diary. One appears to have been the deceased Vehiatua, husband of Purahi and father of the two younger Vehiatuas, 11, 12 and *n*, 13 *n*. The other was a "captain or adjutant" (says Máximo) of Vehiatua's, a minor Chief or henchman who was particularly faithful and well disposed in all his relations with the Spaniards, and rendered them useful service on several occasions, so that he actually enlisted the *Padres'* sympathy and approval, crabbed though they were, 31, 34, 36, 38–9, 48–9, 59, 60, 72–5, 78, 80, 82–4, 132, 152, 159, 177

Taputapuatea. The correct spelling of **Tuputupuatea** (*q.v.*) as quoted by Máximo, 155 *n*, 159 *n*, 170 *n*, 181 *n*

Taravao, *also* **Tarabao**. A tract of land which forms the narrow isthmus connecting the lesser peninsula (called Tahiti Iti or Taiarapu) with the greater mass of the island (known as Tahiti Nui), and separates Port Phaëton on the S.W. from the open ocean on the N.E. side. The isthmus is less than two miles in breadth at one point, and consists of gently undulating low land, 49 and *n*, 54, 107, 113, 124, 126, 132–3, 140, 142, 144, 154–5, 174, 194, 199, 203

Taruri, Tararu, or Teruru: perhaps Tarioro. A minor Chief or overseer owing allegiance to Vehiatua and charged with looking after the latter's interests in the gorge of Ata'aroa. Máximo terms him a "capataz" and also a *tohoa*, which terms, from the man's occupation and responsibilities, seem to point rather to *tuau*, an overseer or steward, than to *toa*, a warrior, 11, 64, 95 *n*

Tautira. *See* **Ohatutira**

Taví. The Chief of Afa'ahiti district, whom Máximo elsewhere calls Tabiari and Taviari; he was a brother of the *ari'i* of "Matea," *i.e.* Mehetia, 102

Taviari. *See* **Tabiari**

Tayarapu. Formerly spelt Tayarabu, now Taiarapu. It comprises the entire lesser peninsula, otherwise called Tahiti Iti; but, as employed by Máximo, the term is restricted to the part adjoining Vaiurua, at the extreme eastern end of the island, 24–5, 41, 55, 130–1, 140–1, 204

Taytoa. *See* **Taitoa**

Teahatu. A name, as quoted by Máximo, attaching to the *ari'i* of Paea, who is described as an aged Chief, enormously stout. But his exact name and identity must remain in doubt, as the Chiefs of Paea usually took the name Toofa, 172

Teatua, Oteatua, Eatua. O and Te are prefixed articles. The noun proper is *Atua*, meaning the Godhead, but it is commonly used with the article, as we say in English "The Deity"; Eatua (*e Atua*) is equivalent to "it is God," 15, 29, 44, 50, 54, 57–8, 60–1, 66, 73, 103, 108, 125, 137, 141, 147–8, 151, 170–2, 175–8, 180, 195, 205

Teieie, Teieye, Teyeye. A minor

Chief and councillor, a favourite or confidential courtier of Vehiatua, 41, 112, 189

Temaeba (*for* Temaeva). A brother-in-law of Pautu the recusant, 4

Temaeva. A patrician high-priest (*tahu'a rahi*) of Ra'i-atea, 119 and *n*

Tepari (Te Pari). "The Cliffs"—a short stretch of rocky and precipitous coast at the south extreme of Tahiti where, the reef being defective or sunken, the ocean swell has eroded the land and strewn the foreshore with boulders, 88, 116 and *n*, 137, 154

Tepau. Tepahu was the *ari'i* of Tetaha (*q.v.*) and a scion of the Papara family of Teva Chiefs. Capt. Bligh names him (as Teppahoo) in his narrative [Bibl. no. 126] several times, 110, 170 and *n*

Terire. Máximo thus spells the name of Teri'i Rere, the son of Amo and Purea. He was the hereditary Overlord of the Teva clan; but the rising power of Tu eclipsed his influence, and his aspiration to become the Chief Paramount of Tahiti, in which, but for Tu and Tu's father Teu, he might have succeeded. Teri'i Rere died in 1788, when only 24 or 25 years of age, and left no issue. He was first cousin, once removed, to Vehiatua, 112 and *n*, *and see* 174 *n*

Teruru. *See* **Taruri**

Tetaha, Otetaha. The most north-western district of Tahiti, now called Faaa, of which Tepau (*q.v.*) was the *ari'i* in Máximo's time, 110, 170

Tetuamaneia, Tetumanua. Variants of the name of a minor Chief and councillor of Vehiatua's in the gorge of Ata'aroa, 35, 49, 189

Tetuanui, Manuel. A Tahitian boy, estimated to have been between 10 and 12 years old in 1772, who was conveyed in that year to Lima in the *Águila*, and remained there until the frigate's return to Tahiti in 1774. While in Lima he proved apt at learning Spanish, and was baptized in the Viceroy's name, Manuel; but he is also mentioned several times in the Diary as Maititi. On getting back to his native land he soon reverted to the Faith of his ancestors, and deserted from the service of the Mission; thus depriving the *Padres* of a useful interpreter. Tetuanui (literally "the great God") was and still is a common appellation in Tahiti, and is used by either sex, 4, 5, 46, 58, 64–5, 68–9, 72, 74–5, 78, 81–2, 85–8, 139, 157, 170, 192. By the name Maititi, 35–8, 47

Tetuaohutia. The wife of Tepahu, the *ari'i* of Tetaha (*q.v.*). Bligh states that she was said to have destroyed all her eight children [Bibl. no. 126, p. 79], 170

Tetuaunouna. The name, as spelt by Máximo, of Tetua-qunumaona, the younger brother and successor of Vehiatua Ta'ata-'ura'ura; these were the only two sons of Te Vahine Moeatua, otherwise Purahi. *See* also **Guatupua**, 187, 204

Tetumanua. A variant, probably truer, form of Tetuamaneia (*q.v.*), 35, 189

Teturoa. Now called Tetiaroa. An atoll comprising seven low flat coral islets and a few sand cays upon and within a reef situated 25 miles N. of Tahiti. From remote times the entire atoll was a private demesne of the family to which Tu and his ancestors belonged; but in the year 1907 their lineal representative, Teri'i Hinoi-Atua Pomare, parted with the freehold in favour of Dr Johnstone Williams, a Canadian British subject residing at Tahiti. Teturoa was seen by Boenechea in 1775, on January 8; he named the islets "Los tres hermanos"—the Three Brothers. For more particulars *see* vol. II, pp. 160–1 and foot-note; 42, 139

Teypunaguiya. Máximo thus spells Te Punaauia, a district in Atehuru (*q.v.*) on the west side of Tahiti Nui, where the *marae*

Taputapuatea (*q.v.*) was situated. *See* **Punaauia**; 170–1

Tikehau. An atoll of the Tuamotu group situated in lat. 14° 58′ S., long. 148° 10′ W., about thirty miles eastward of Matahiva, to which its natives occasionally resort for fishing purposes etc. The land consists of a series of thickly wooded flat islets based on a circular reef enclosing a lagoon nearly ten miles in diameter, in the centre of which there is another islet overgrown with trees. The soil is fertile, and carries a population of some 200 natives. There is a navigable passage into the lagoon, on the west side. To the eastward the large atoll of Rahiroa is separated from Tikehau by a deep-sea channel barely 8 miles in width, 134 *n*

Tipitipia. One of the four natives taken away by the *Águila* in 1772, considered as 28 years of age at that time. The Spaniards called him Joseph, but it does not appear that he was baptized, for he died on reaching Valparaiso, and the name was probably merely bestowed in compliment to Don Joseph Andía y Varela, the master and owner of the storeship, 4 and *n*, 5

Titorea. Really Ti'i-torea. The step-father of Vehiatua, having married Purahi, it is said, after the demise of the old Vehiatua, which occurred in 1771 or 1772 (*cf.* vol. II, p. xxxv). This second marriage of Purahi's is not acknowledged by her descendants of to-day, who are collaterals only, the direct line having failed, in 1790, in the person of her second son by Vehiatua *père*. Ti'i-torea is alleged to have been a minor Chief of Mo'orea, which is a matter for some surprise considering the unfriendly relations that existed at the time between the people of that island and those of Taiarapu; it is certain that he was Purahi's inferior in social prestige, but his precise origin and rank remain in doubt. Capt. Cook terms him "a Chief, named Etorea, under whose tutorage he (Vehiatua) was" [Bibl. no. 29, II]; William Bayly the astronomer says he was Vehiatua's "prime Minister, an intelligent, clever man, for an Indian" [*cf.* vol. II, pp. xxxv, 478], and that he was remarkably tatu'd, 5, 16, 30, 41–2, 59, 132

Toatapua. A dangerous coral bank situated off the south extremity of the lesser peninsula, abreast of Te Pari. It is submerged during calm weather, but the ocean swell breaks heavily upon it at times, where it is almost awash. Máximo's canoe came near being swamped while crossing it, 88

Toheyao. *See* **Oheyao**

Toledo, Don Nicolás de. An ensign or junior lieutenant serving on board the *Águila*, 35, 208

Tomahotutao. A head man or minor Chief of the district called Irimiro, at the S.E. extremity of the lesser peninsula, 143

Tomás. The baptismal name of Pautu (*q.v.*), 3, 89, 170, 199, and elsewhere as Pautu only

Tomás (*and* Thomas), Don. *See* **Gayangos**

Tuivirau, Tuivivirau. The *ari'i* of Vairaao, (formerly called Vaiuru, and by Máximo Guayuru *q.v.*). Tuivirau is quoted at pp. 51, 53; at p. 158 the name is incorrectly spelt Tuivivirau. He was a relative of Amo, and also of Vehiatua (through the latter's mother, Purahi)

Tupapau. *See* the Glossary

Tuputupuatea, Tupu-tupuatea. This name occurs five times in the text and is spelt with a hyphen in two of the instances. It should be Taputapuatea, and refers to an important *marae* dedicated to the god Oro, in the district of Punaauia on the western side of Tahiti Nui. It was to this *marae* that the bodies of all human victims sacrificed for religious or political motives were conveyed, and they were permanently deposited there.

This was also the *marae* in whose precincts the stone bowl presented by the Chiefs of Ra'i-atea to Tu was kept. There were several other *marae* of the same name in Tahiti and Ra'i-atea (*see* p. 181, *note* 4), 155 and *n*, 159 and *n*, 170, 181 and *n*, 187

Tutaraa. The name, as quoted by Máximo, of native lady to whom he administered medical treatment on December 14–16, including venesection performed by the storeship's phlebotomist, with success. She is described as an aunt of Tu. The name is written "Tutarda" in the MS., an obvious clerical slip. It may have been Tutaroa, 29

Tutea. An uncle of Vehiatua who was *ari'i* of Mataoae, 51–2

Tutuirau. A name attributed by Máximo to a bird, one of those sacred in the Tahitians' belief, 189 and *see* note 2

Vaiaotea. *See* **Guayautea**

Vaiari. *See* **Guayari**

Vaionifa. A passage, barely 200 yards wide, through the barrier reef midway between Vaiurua and Tautira. Though the channel is deep it is not very safe, because of the current through and across it. Máximo mentions, but does not name, this passage, 17 *n*

Vaiotaha. *See* **Guayotaha**

Vaiotihi. *See* **Guayotihi**

Vairaao. *See* **Guayuru**

Vaitepiha *or* Vai-te-piha. One of the most considerable streams in Tahiti. It flows from the interior of the lesser peninsula in a N.N.E. direction and reaches the sea through the valley and gorge of Ata'aroa, adjoining Tautira, where the Spanish mission house stood. *See* vol. II, p. 119 *note* 2; p. 120 chart; and p. 124 Plate, which shows the embouchure of this stream, in the middle ground. Capt. Cook applied the name to the bay the stream delivers into, calling it Oaiti-piha Bay, which Forster wrote O-Aitepeha. It is now usually spoken of as Tautira Bay. Máximo does not use the name at all, 7 *n*, 118 *n*, 141 *n*

Vaiuriri. The old name of Papeuriri, written by Máximo **Guayuriri**, *q.v.*

Vaiuru. The old name of Vairaao, written by Máximo **Guayuru**, *q.v.*

Vaiurua. *See* **Guayurua**

Valparaiso. The principal seaport of Chile: in lat. 33° S., 4, 4 *n*

Vehiatua. The dynastic title of the reigning Overlord of the Teva-i-ta'i Chiefs who ruled over the lesser peninsula of Tahiti before, during, and for fifteen years after the Spaniards' visits. In Máximo's Diary the name has especial reference to the Chief Ta'ata-'ura'ura, who died when only twenty years of age, in 1775, as related in these pages. His successor (the last of the line) was his younger brother Tetua-ounumaona, who died in 1790. All the Spaniards wrote the name Bejiatua: its literal interpretation is "divine sheath," or "enshrinement of divinity," 5–7, 10, 11, 14–28, 30–2, 35–9, 41, 43–5, 47, 49–62, 64–6, 69, 71–6, 78, 80–91, 96, 101–2, 104, 107–116, 118–121, 123, 125–130, 132–7, 140–3, 145–164, 169, 172–4 and *n*, 175–180, his death scene, 182–6; 187, 190, 199, 203: *see also* vol. II, pp. xxiv–xxxv

The End.

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